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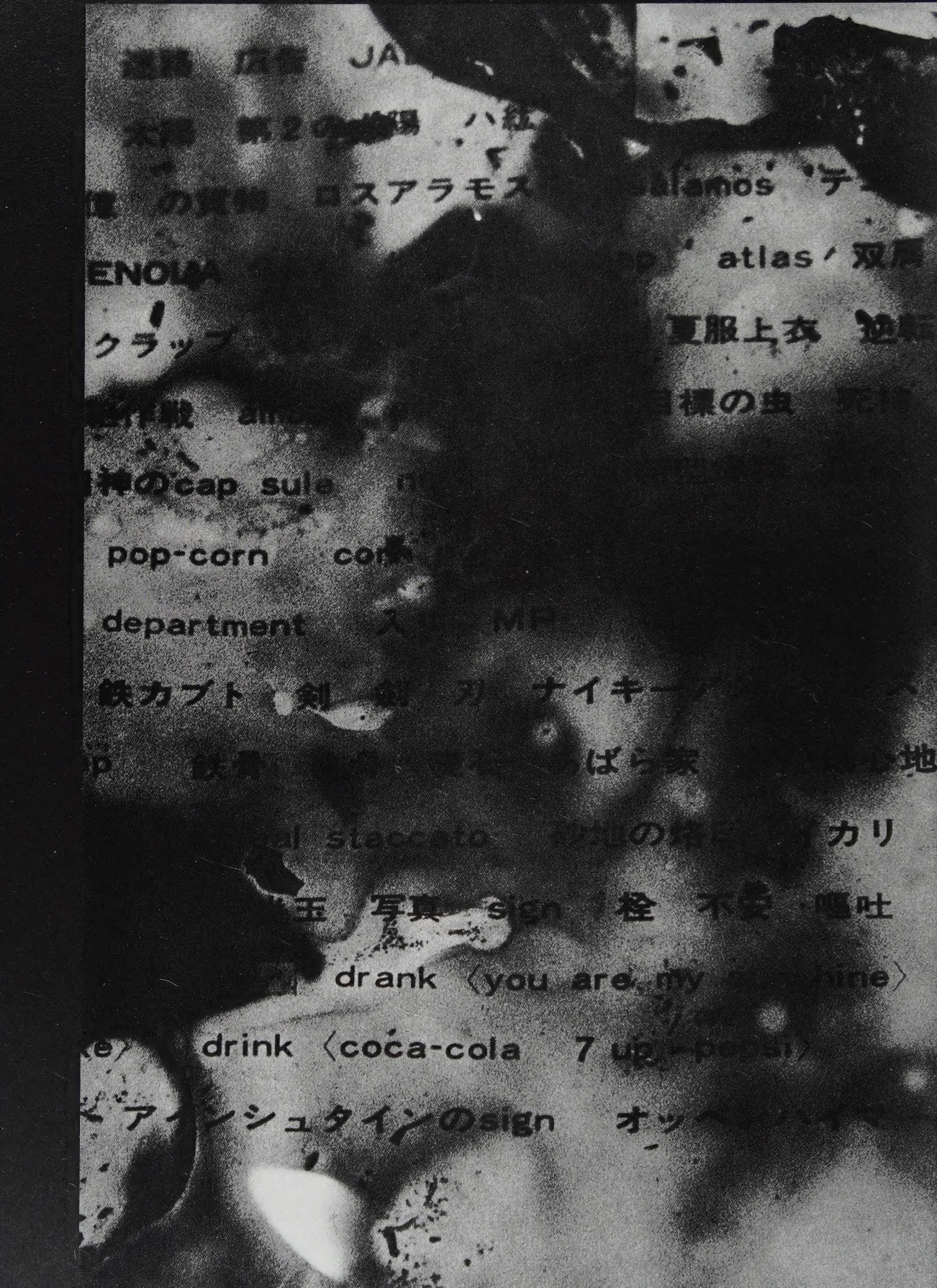
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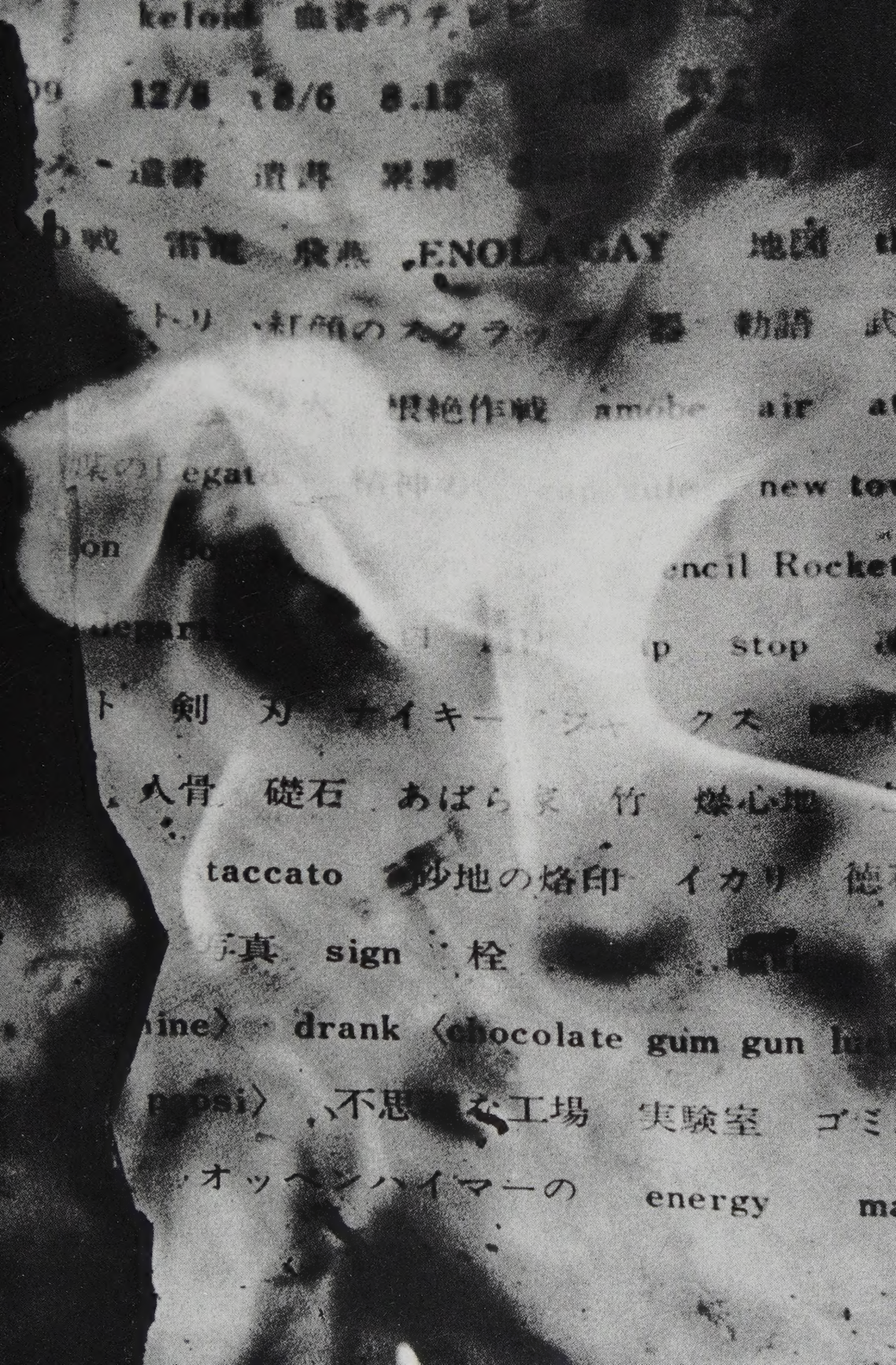
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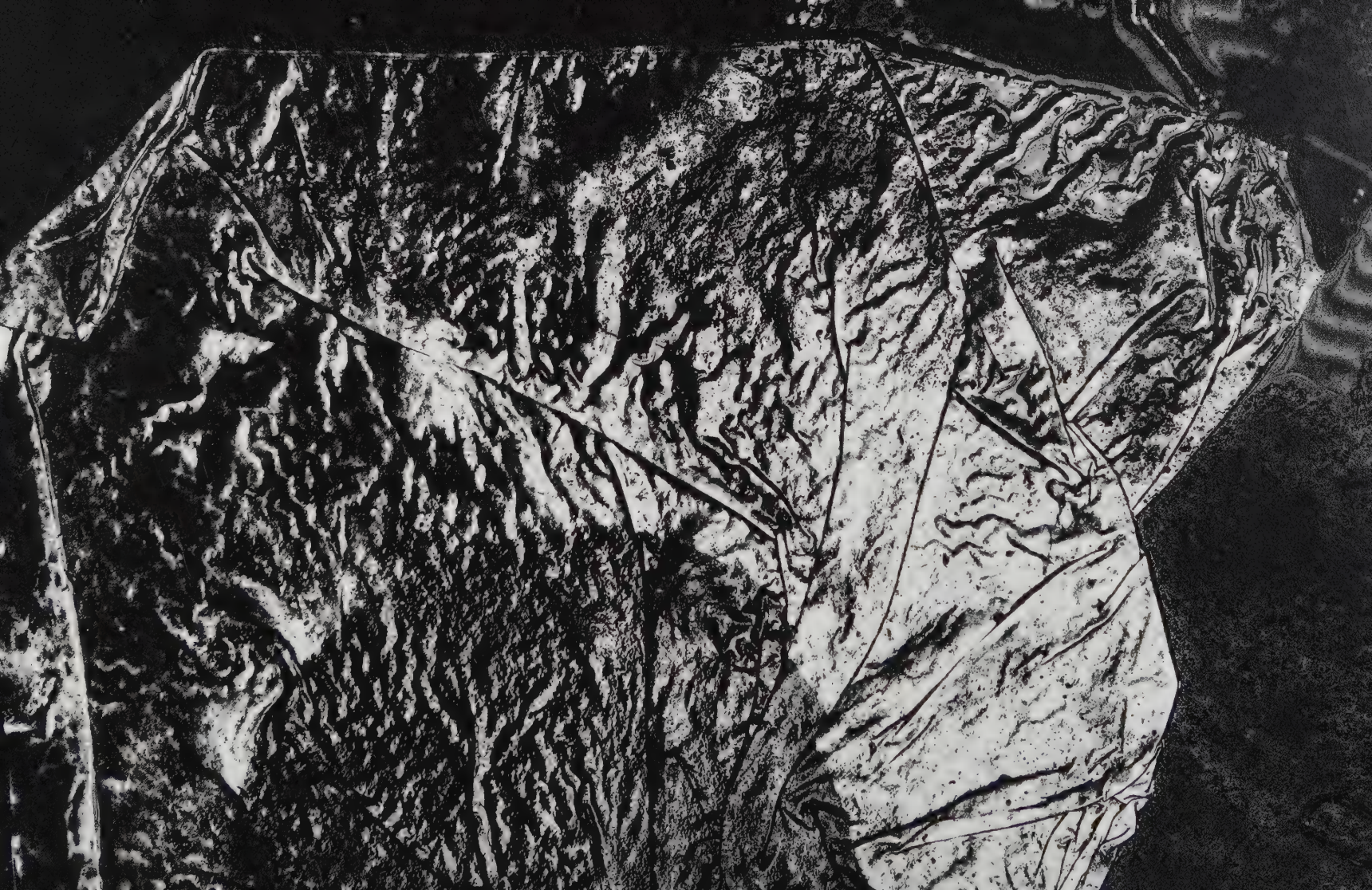


PROVOKE:
Between PROTEST and PERFORMANCE

Photography in Japan 1960 / 1975

In memory of Nakahira Takuma

Edited by Diane Dufour, Matthew S. Witkovsky
with Duncan Forbes and Walter Moser

Steidl – LE BAL – Fotomuseum Winterthur – Albertina – The Art Institute of Chicago

It is a mark of good curatorial practice that it remains situated, but also able to reach across aesthetic, institutional, and critical boundaries. There are few better examples than the exhibition of which this volume forms the accompanying book. It is a collaboration between four respected international institutions, each with its own distinct contribution to the history of photography. Each institution has an extensive interest in photographic practice in Japan, seen in respective collection holdings or exhibition histories. Exhibitions in particular are always testimony to collective endeavor, and this project has marshaled an impressive team, including a German publisher; a French designer and French, American, British, and Austrian editors; and, most vitally, collaborators, translators, and contributors from Japan. Although short-lived, *Provoke* magazine commands a resonant afterlife: the exhibition constructs a fascinating narrative of one of the most turbulent and creative periods in recent Japanese history, marked by an intensive interrogation of the aesthetic and political possibilities of the camera. We are immensely grateful to all those involved, in particular the supporters and sponsors of this project: in Vienna, BMW Austria and Superfund; in Winterthur, Swiss Re and the International Music and Art Foundation; in Paris, Toyota and Manfred Heiting; in Chicago, the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Joyce and Bruce Chelberg, and Kenneth and Christine Tanaka. With their help, and with the dedication of curators at each institution, the Provoke movement continues to rouse reaction and to activate thought.

Douglas Druick, The Art Institute of Chicago
Diane Dufour, LE BAL, Paris
Duncan Forbes, Fotomuseum Winterthur
Klaus-Albrecht Schröder, Albertina, Vienna

Western interest in Japanese photography has been running high in recent years. The last decade has seen major monographic and thematic exhibitions at public institutions in the United States, England, and France; increasingly frequent solo displays at commercial galleries and art fairs internationally; and an overdue attention to Japanese production within the globalizing vogue for photo books. In all of these presentations, the 1960s and early 1970s are presented as a backdrop of "troubled times" within which singular careers unfolded or singular objects came into being.

Exploring the relation of such careers or objects to political activism in their time is one of the key aims of the present book and the exhibition it accompanies. An obvious place to start is with the phenomenon known as "protest photography": the approximately eighty (known) books and presumably thousands of photographs made by participants in the Japanese protest movement. Protest books in particular, their originality long overlooked in Japan, have been willfully misunderstood in the Western marketplace as artistic achievements for which political strife was only a colorful, circumstantial setting. The present volume begins to map an intellectual territory for Japanese protest photography, tracing distinctions, for example, between the publications of circa 1960 and circa 1970, or calling out differences in approach between a student committee and photographers who observed such committees in action, although all might have self-published works now known as protest books.

A parallel wish to explore the relation of politics to fine art motivated our attention to postwar Japanese "actions"—happenings, events—that took place in close historical correspondence with the rallies and confrontations gathering force in the country from the mid-1950s onward. Performance came to the fore in Japanese postwar art as it did in daily life, beginning with the painters of Gutai and continuing in exhibitions or "street theater" created by *butoh* dancers and members of formations as diverse as Metabolism, Hi Red Center, Tenjō Sajiki, or Mono-ha. That great wave of performance in vanguard fine art has been celebrated in a series of (largerly American) museum exhibitions in which photography (not to mention politics) has mostly played a vanishingly minor role. To redress that oversight, the present volume treats photography in Japan of the 1960s as a pivot between protest and performance, politics and art.

Enter Provoke, a formation that arguably bound photography to political and social protest on the one hand, and to avant-garde performance on the other. Although it formally coalesced only around the short-lived little magazine *Provoke* (1968–69), in fact this group of writer-photographers interacted with one another for nearly a decade, from around 1966 until 1974. Individually and collectively they carried great weight in those years, and their relevance and personal connections extended into the fine and performing arts, architecture, and literature as well as critical theory. The inclusion in this book of works by Hi Red Center, Isozaki Arata, Enokura Kōji, Takamatsu Jirō, and Terayama Shūji begins to convey those relations and serves to counter the prevailing tendency to treat Provoke as a phenomenon confined to photography, or a brilliant flash in the pan.

Yet *Provoke* cannot be classed as a set of protest books, inasmuch as its contributors largely avoided picturing or discussing incidents of protest. They found such pictures in particular anecdotal or politically naive, and there is no evidence that student protesters (who filled their books with pictures of marches and clashes) ever looked at *Provoke*. What, then, is the relation between the two? Moreover, how can photographs, to all appearances inherently commemorative or duplicative images, be *in* rather than *of* a performance?

There are demonstrable historical connections. Photography lecturer Fukushima Tatsuo, Nihon University student Yanagimoto Naomi, and renowned older photographer Tōmatsu Shōmei all made books or magazines that helped Provoke to coalesce in awareness of developments in protest and performance. Nakahira Takuma and Taki Kōji, the leading theorists of Provoke, wrote politically laden cultural commentary, in the incisive yet abstract

manner of Walter Benjamin or Roland Barthes, and on occasion they contributed creatively to political causes. Provoke photographers Takanashi Yutaka and Moriyama Daidō took pictures of Hijikata and of Terayama's theater troupe, respectively (plate 93). In the early 1970s, Enokura and Takamatsu each expressed admiration for Nakahira's work just as they were making forays into photography—*P.W.* for Enokura, *Photograph* for Takamatsu—that would test precisely the conundrum of a photo-performance piece (plates 115–119).

Beyond such contacts, the affinities that place Provoke "between protest and performance" can be understood as occurring on a continuum, with each term representing a limit of possibility for the others. The "rough, blurred, out of focus" appearance of many (although by no means all) photographs in *Provoke* should be seen not as a style, nor even as an expression of gestural abstraction in photography, but instead as an attempt to give form to contingency and ephemerality. It is a push to "unfix" the photograph and make it come alive—and therefore fragile and perishable. The self-consciousness of such an undertaking, perhaps exemplified in Moriyama's decision to photograph his own lovemaking session for the magazine's second issue, underscores that it is not vitality per se, but rather its performance, that models this approach to camera work.

Protest is not performance, but under certain circumstances the two activities are closely analogous. Performance groups in the 1950s and '60s, including the Living Theatre in New York, Viennese Actionism, and many others outside of—as well as in—Japan, took on the confrontational qualities of political dissent in civil society. And dissident formations of the 1960s—also by no means only in Japan—gained a heady self-consciousness as well, becoming increasingly comfortable in front of authorities and news cameras. The outpouring of photographs and books excerpted in this volume gives a terrific sense of the protesters' desire for self-representation, their wish to occupy the world as a stage and achieve social visibility on their own terms. The microphones, helmets, lengthy banner inscriptions, and other demonstration paraphernalia have the explanatory function, in photographs, of props for a revolutionary theater. On occasion, the theatrics are made explicit, as with a marvelous image of a cutout reproduction from Francisco Goya's *Disasters of War* that has been set down in the middle of the (literally) war-torn landscape in Sanrizuka village, during the years-long civil insurrection surrounding the construction of Narita airport (page 213).

Provoke reflected that spirit of protest, and may have borrowed from the lexicon of protest book design: brash and disorienting views, a contest for attention between words and images, close-ups and full-bleed layouts in inky rotogravure that turn reality into palpable matter. Such ideas may also have been in the air, and the makers of *Provoke* presented their magazine as simply of its time, the product of a "political era," as Nakahira mentioned in a postscript to the first issue. Yet the many illuminating essays and statements found throughout this book, nearly all of them translated into English for the first time, make plain that photography in Japan, whether provoking, protesting, or performing, was exceptionally astute and well informed.

Diane Dufour, Duncan Forbes, Walter Moser, and Matthew S. Witkovsky

Note to the reader

In this volume, Japanese texts, including names and titles, have been transliterated according to the modified Hepburn Romanization system. Macrons are used to indicate long vowels, such as ū and ō, with the exception of place names that are found in English-language dictionaries, such as Tokyo or Kyoto. In accordance with Japanese practice, the family name precedes the given name: Mitsuda Yuri. Exceptions are made for Japanese-born individuals who have adopted the Western order of surname last, such as Yoko Ono. A further exception is made for the photographer Ikko Narahara, who prefers to have his name rendered in Western style for non-Asian publications and to have his given name written without a macron over the o.

Titles of works of art, performances, films, and exhibitions are given in Japanese followed by the English translation in parenthesis. All efforts have been made to provide the best English translation as well as the best Japanese original by consulting with publications, artists, and collections.

JAPAN DURING THE PROVOKE ERA

Yukio Lippit

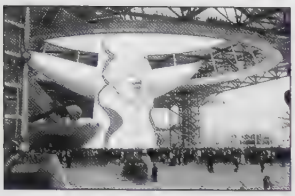


Fig. 1 – Okamoto Tarō
Taiyō no tō (*Tower of the Sun*), 1970.
Expo '70, Osaka.

Taiyō no tō (*Tower of the Sun*, fig. 1), Okamoto Tarō's awkward and colossal landmark of the 1970 Osaka Expo, manifests many of the dynamic tensions and contradictions that marked the event for which it was constructed, and by extension Japan as a whole during the 1960s and early 1970s. Like the Tokyo Olympics six years earlier, Expo '70 was the first such event to be held in Asia and brought some 64 million visitors to Japan, celebrating the country's economic rise and industrial successes through science fiction-inspired corporate pavilions and immersive, multimedia installations that combined art and technology in ever more inventive ways. *Tower of the Sun* served as the ambivalent face of this techno-utopia. Reaching 230 feet (70 meters) in height, the *Tower* adopted for its remarkable feat of engineering a surprisingly primal, unfuturistic design. In eschewing references to Euro-American artistic traditions, it expressed solidarity with the developing world, drawing inspiration from Mexican art and world ritual traditions, even though its understanding of the latter derived ultimately from the French Surrealists. The eerily blank eyes of its faces seemed to suggest a critique rather than a celebration of Japan's industrial success. Its pre-Columbian and primitivistic profile made it both an "icon to globalization" and a totem of anti-modernity.[1] Despite the self-awareness and anti-establishment stance of his signature sculpture, Okamoto himself would be criticized by younger artists as a compromised figure serving the interests of the state organizers and corporate sponsors of the Expo.

The contradictions and tensions of *Tower of the Sun* serve as a legend for those of Japan as a whole during this era. Japan's "Golden Sixties" has often been defined by the country's reentry into the international sphere after the devastation of World War II, historically unprecedented economic growth, quickly rising standards of living, new technology and infrastructure, a rapidly evolving media and consumer culture, and international recognition of cultural achievements in the arts, exemplified by Kawabata Yasunari's Nobel Prize in Literature in 1968. At the same time, Japan's economic "miracle" enshadowed widespread political protest, unchecked development, environmental pollution (as manifested in the poisoning from corporate waste mercury known as Minamata disease), and disillusionment with consumer culture and dependence on the United States.

Although this profile might resemble those of developing industrial economies in the postwar period, the case of Japan is distinguished by the rapid rate and high intensity of these conditions. Japan developed a highly integrated, export-driven economy that transformed the country from a largely agrarian nation in the mid-1950s into the country with the world's second-largest GNP just two decades later. The factors driving this rapid growth are overdetermined. The state played a heavy role in guiding capital and structuring industries through its Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and one-party political system, in which the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) dominated the country's bicameral legislature. Business conglomerates known as *keiretsu* (headless combines), which were constructed through spiderweb networks of affiliation among businesses and banks, ensured significant horizontal and vertical integration within corporate Japan. The nation's close bilateral relationship with the United States was undoubtedly a major structural condition; the postwar Constitution of Japan was drafted primarily by American lawyers of the Allied Occupation, and American technology transfer as well as military and aid spending contributed significantly to the archipelago's economic prosperity.

These factors resulted in a Japanese version of the American military-industrial complex, minus the military. The two nations entered into a defense pact that ensured Japan would be a strategically situated Cold War ally populated with American military bases and heavily reliant upon US forces for its security. The renunciation of war by Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution allowed significant resources to be invested elsewhere (although demilitarization would later be identified by the artist Murakami Takashi as an emasculating condition that gave rise to *otaku* culture).[2]

This close alliance—as well as psychological dependence—upon the United States led to severe critique and eventually radical protest. The mass demonstrations that accompanied Japan's

1 – Bert Winther-Tamaki, "To Put On a Big Face: The Globalist Stance of Okamoto Tarō's Tower of the Sun for the Japan World Exposition," in *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices*, ed. Midori Yoshimoto, special issue of *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 23 (December 2011): 81–101.

2 – See Murakami Takashi, ed., *Little Boy: The Arts of Japan's Exploding Subculture* (New York and New Haven, CT: Japan Society of New York and Yale University Press, 2005). This position is also adopted by the influential cultural critic Sawaragi Noi.

renewal in 1960 of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation between the United States and Japan, better known by its Japanese abbreviation, Anpo, provided a template and organizational structure for a series of protests by the New Left in the mid-sixties, widespread student demonstrations in the late sixties, and guerrilla tactics by revolutionary groups in the early 1970s.[3]

This period was also one of increased historical reflection, especially in the years surrounding the observance of the Meiji Centennial in 1968. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 marked a shift from Japan's feudal Tokugawa shogunate to a modernizing society, inaugurating decades of tumultuous change. Many historians and intellectuals observed parallels between the late nineteenth century and the course of Japan in their own time, especially in terms of its social injustices and foreign policies. The Meiji era became perceived as an uncanny mirror of the postwar period, and the introspection it engendered permeated many spheres of activity.[4] Indeed, the founders of *Provoke* magazine used their experience of organizing the exhibition *100 Years of Photography* in 1968 as a catalyst for further reflection on the role of photography in society.[5]

During the 1960s, prosperity was rapidly imprinted upon the Japanese built environment. Addressing the population explosion—especially in Tokyo, which increased from 3.5 million to 10 million residents between 1945 and 1960—became the primary catalyst for innovative architecture and urbanism. It was a major focus of the Tange Laboratory at the University of Tokyo, where urban analysis served as the basis for design. Tange's *Tōkyō keikaku 1960* (*Plan for Tokyo 1960*) proposed overcoming the shortage of usable land around Tokyo by imagining a civic axis extending across Tokyo Bay, combining residential, public, and work spaces in megastructures. The loosely affiliated group of architects and critics known as the Metabolists built upon these ideas by conceiving of cities on the water and in the air, and combining the notion of the megastructure with biological metaphors of organic growth and renewal. However, their proposals for urban planning predicated upon colossal core structures and plug-in capsules were only partially realized, and most urban development was default or ad hoc, as in the case of the destruction of old neighborhoods and the construction of a highway system in preparation for the 1964 Olympics.

Japanese consumer culture changed rapidly during this era. The ten-year Income Doubling Plan launched in 1960 by Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato managed to meet its goal within four years. That in turn engendered the single biggest transformation of this period: the dramatic expansion of the middle class. According to a survey conducted by the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper in June 1966, an astonishing 90 percent of participants associated themselves in some way with the middle class. Indeed, this stratum had expanded to such a degree that some have called into question the utility of class as a legitimate mode of analysis for society at this time, proposing instead the term "new middle-mass society" to capture the sheer scale and purview of the demographic middle.[6]

However one defines the new social structure, the mass culture that developed in tandem with rapid economic prosperity modeled itself to no small extent upon that of the United States, notably through the influence of American television. During the years immediately following the war, film became the most popular pastime for the Japanese, with some 1.2 billion viewers in 1960 (or nearly fourteen films per movie-age citizen). In the sixties television replaced cinema as the visual medium of preference. In this regard, 1964 proved to be a major turning point, as audiences throughout Japan viewed the Olympic Games in color broadcast, and television adopted the ever-popular genre of the historical drama (*jidaigeki*) from cinema. The prevalence of American shows such as *I Love Lucy* impressed American middle class life upon the imaginations of Japanese viewers. Television also united them with global audiences; they witnessed unfolding news of the John F. (and Robert) Kennedy assassinations in real time, while broadcasts of student riots and Vietnam War protests overseas catalyzed demonstrations in Japan.[7]

The spread of television conditioned consumerism, and the "three Cs" of the car, (air) conditioner, and color television became *de rigueur* to nuclear family households. Even American suburban-style kitchens were offered to Japanese consumers through prefabricated housing systems such as the miniature Misette House (1959) and Sekisui House A (1960).

Japanese manufacturing specialized in electronic and handheld devices. Taking advantage of technological innovations by US firms, Japanese camera makers such as Asahi, Canon, Konica, Minolta, Nikon, Ricoh, and Yashica produced both high-end and low-end cameras

3 – For a study of Japanese protest culture in the context of Japan-US relations, see Thomas R. H. Havens, *Fire Across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan, 1965–1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
4 – Hirasawa Gō and Yomota Inuhiko, eds., *1968-nen bunkaron* [*1968: A Cultural Analysis*] (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun-sha, 2010).
5 – Kaneko Ryūichi, "Chronicle 1968—Revolutionizing the Modern in Photography," in Kaneko, ed., *1968—Japanese Photography: Photographs that Stirred Up Debate, 1966–1974*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013), IV–V.
6 – For debates on how to characterize the "mass mainstream of 100 million people" *(ichiokunin sōchūryū)*, see William W. Kelly, "Finding a Place in Metropolitan Japan: Ideologies, Institutions, and Everyday Life," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 189–216.
7 – Marilyn Ivy, "Formations of Mass Culture," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 239–58.

aimed at a broad market. Amateur photography constituted its own subculture of the period, catered to by magazines such as *Asahi Camera*, *Camera Mainichi*, and *Nippon Camera* that offered reviews of products, reader contests, photographers' portfolios, and features on new trends in design and fashion.

Print culture also flourished, nourished by a large, literate, and increasingly prosperous readership. Japanese newspapers expanded into large media conglomerates that boasted among the largest readerships of any daily periodicals in the world (a status still held today by *Yomiuri Shimbun*). Weekly magazines such as *Asahi Gurafu* gained great influence, and the fields of advertising and graphic design became innovative fronts of visual culture. The artistry of *manga* recruited ever-larger audiences, especially with the emergence of the underground comics magazine *Garo* and left-leaning genre of *gekiga* (dramatic pictures) by authors such as Shirato Sanpei, which proved popular among adult readers. By 1974 some seventy-five *manga* magazines boasted a monthly circulation of twenty million readers. Various visual media were increasingly linked by shared content, with works that originated in one media platform crossing over to others. The template for such transmedia representations of a shared story-world was established by the manga *Astro Boy* of 1963, which became a highly popular TV series and set of films.

The remarkable avant-garde culture that flourished during this period contested the depoliticization of daily life brought about by the state's drive toward economic well-being, lobotomized consumerism, and the dominance of corporate capitalism, as exemplified by the rise of the white-collar "salaryman" as an aspirational social type. In this regard, the national promotion of prosperity was understood as a trade-off for Anpo and other forms of protest, a Faustian bargain in which comfortable conformism replaced critical citizenship.[8] Happenings and intermedia, signature practices of the Japanese avant-garde during this period, are associated with artists' collectives such as Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop) and Gutai. The Sōgetsu Art Center became a major hub of interdisciplinary artistic practices and *kankyō geijutsu* (environment art) proposed new modes of technologically mediated artistic collaboration. Meanwhile, the artistic events of groups such as Hi Red Center and Zero Jigen reflected not only a move away from the traditional art spaces of the museum and gallery in favor of public spaces, but an adoption of the performative syntax of protest culture, in many instances organized in the streets and spaces of Tokyo's Shinjuku district.

In this regard, Shinjuku's significance to 1960s artistic experimentation bears special mention. Known today for the world's busiest train station and as the seat of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Shinjuku at the time was characterized by informal urbanism and an array of underground cultures. These conditions emerged after US air raids over Tokyo destroyed almost 90 percent of the ward in 1945, and it reinvented itself as a black-market area and red-light district where prostitution and bohemian culture flourished. By the 1960s Shinjuku boasted a density of go-go clubs, jazz cafés, underground cinemas, and experimental theaters, and had become a meeting ground for left-wing radicals, artists, and the Japanese squatter-hippies known as *fūten*. It was a particularly active center for political protest; Shinjuku Station's West Exit Plaza famously hosted impromptu anti-war concerts by "folk guerrilla" musicians, whose weekly gatherings evolved into large public rallies throughout the spring and summer of 1969.[9]

A number of iconic sites for experimental and underground artists arose in Shinjuku, including the Fūgetsudō, a now-legendary café; the Shinjuku Art Theater, the headquarters of the Art Theater Guild (ATG), Japan's first art house cinema; the Sasori-za (Theatre Scorpio), a central platform for performance art, theater, dance, and avant-garde films screenings; Kinokuniya Hall, a large bookstore and cultural center; and Tenjō Sajiki (Peanut Gallery) Hall, which housed Terayama Shūji's experimental theater troupe of the same name. In addition to artistic happenings, Shinjuku was the stage for *angura* (underground theater) performances that solicited audience participation in Brechtian fashion and blurred the boundary between art and life.

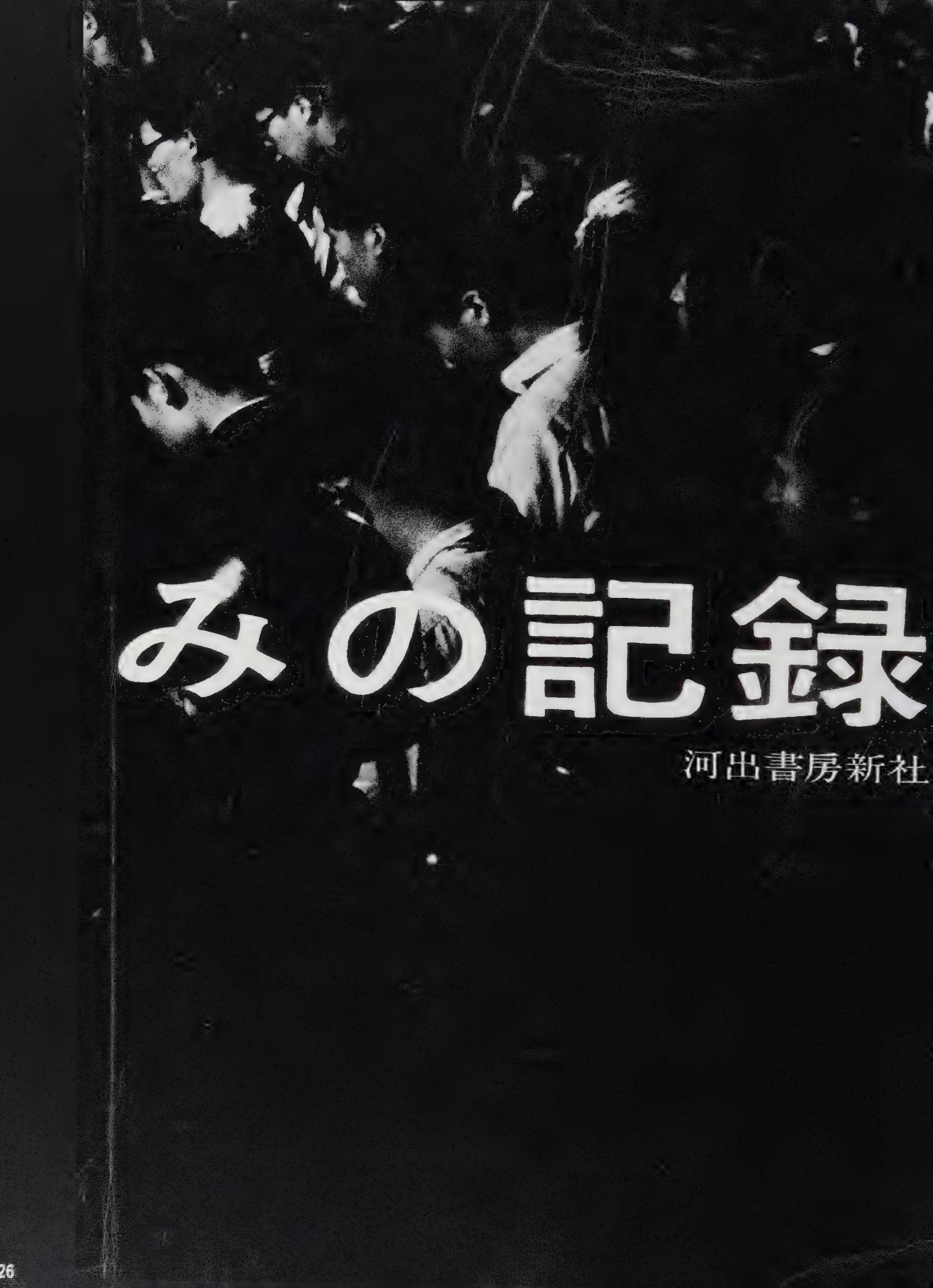
Some of the most innovative films and photobooks of the period were also set in Shinjuku, such as *Shinjuku dorobō nikki* (*Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, 1969) by the New Wave film director Oshima Nagisa and Moriyama Daidō's acclaimed *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (*Japan: A Photo Theater*, 1968), as well as many images found in the pages of *Provoke*. These works kaleido-

8 – William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013).
9 – Jordan Sand, *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Lost Histories, Found Objects* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

scopically juxtaposed both ordinary and extraordinary Shinjuku episodes, from the banality of daily commuters to tawdry nightclubs to the dynamism of student protests and experimental theater.[10] Far from simply documenting the margins of the mainstream, they internalized the informal urban conditions of Shinjuku to generate a specific mode of interrelational subjectivity. The resulting subject was not so much a *flaneur*-observer of the streets, but a participant in a dynamic process of becoming through encounters with the fragments of an abstracted, post-industrial landscape. Artists aspired through time-based processes to activate the liminality of the city's penumbra—an urban darkroom where anything might happen—to generate critical, self-aware dispositions toward the world. This charged, unfolding mutualism between work and observer characterized a wide array of cultural representations during the period, from Abe Kōbō's novel *Moetsukita chizu* (*The Ruined Map*, 1967) to Adachi Masao's film *Ryakushō renzoku shasatsuma* (*A.K.A. Serial Killer*, 1969), and would inform the highly compelling discourse on "landscape" (*fūkei*) in the early 1970s writings of critics Matsuda Masao and Nakahira Takuma.[11] Thus while Expo '70 is often positioned as a turning point that accelerated the fragmentation of the avant-garde—captured by the ambivalence of and for Okamoto's *Tower of the Sun*—the aftermath of Provoke suggests otherwise, and demonstrates that this aspiration would continue to motivate some of the most compelling artistic practices in the years to follow.

10 – Jelena Stojkovic, "Shinjuku Culture in the 1960s," unpublished talk at the Japan Foundation, London, October 2014.
11 – Franz Prichard, "On For a Language to Come, Circulation, and Overflow: Takuma Nakahira and the Horizons of Radical Media Criticism in the Early 1970s," in Nakamori Yasufumi et al, *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968–1979* (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston) 84–89.

PROTEST



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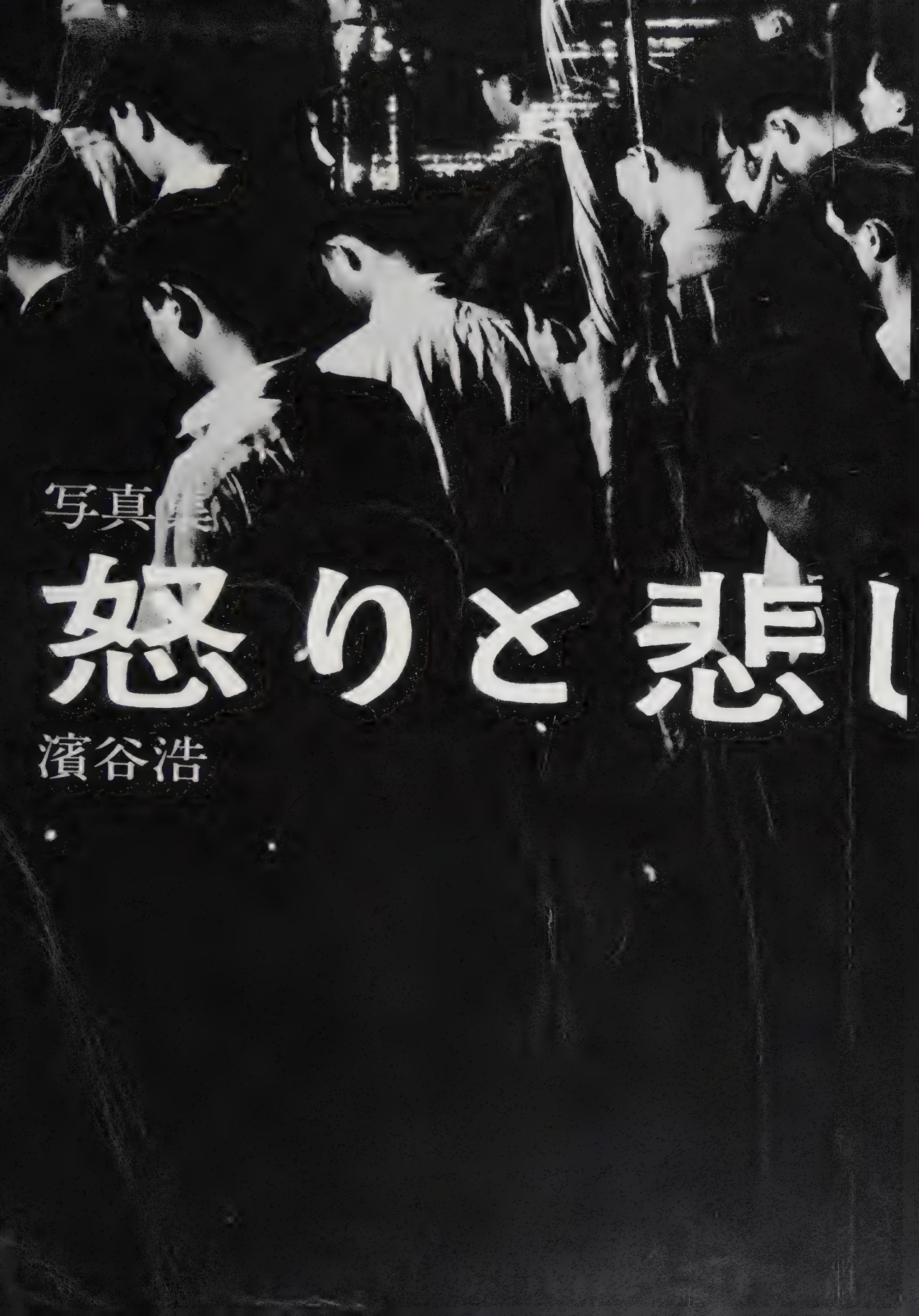
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二十八日の「声なき声」の集会と、各地各層、未組織の市民が立ちあがった。学園では全学連の旗の下に参加する学生が四倍にふえていた。四次一行動の前日、早稲田大学では、大隈銅像前に全共闘派と革マル派の集会と、国会デモとセネストの徹夜支援に向かった。

6.3

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フィンガーには少数の赤旗がはためいていた。ハガチー氏到着寸前、右翼の殴りこみをうけた。

Hamaya Hiroshi
"Kokusai kyōsan seiryoku" (International Communist Force)

The national political movement that evolved after May 20, [1960] was on a scale never before imagined in the history of this country.[1] Prime Minister Kishi claimed that it was a conspiracy by the international communist force and that he was supported by the silent majority.[2] However, he should look squarely at reality: there are many people living in poverty at the bottom of the society in this country who can't raise their voice and feel aggrieved. They don't have the energy to turn their attention to society; it is as if they had lost their consciousness, only trying to survive each day and putting all their energy into earning a living. There are people who live without a TV, radio, or newspaper. Some even ache for war because they were eating better when they were in the army. If they need to, they would sell their vote just to be able to eat and live for two or three days. They are people who can't raise their voices or stand up for themselves—it is one of the realities of money and politics that the votes of these people, who cling to conventions, can be bought. The contradiction is that poverty supports the money party; farmers who can't get out of feudalism and political donations that are linked to desire and the tactics of desire—there are too many elements that can lead democracy to its destruction. A major role of democracy is to uncover the entity of the silent majority and give them a voice so they can speak.

Until the violence of money stops there will be no fair elections. There is no meaning in a general election unless the volition of the individual and the truth function. If the current situation in which people mistrust elections and politics continues, a reformation of thought will develop. Youth who value purity will rapidly run in this direction. It's closer to reality to call this idealism rather than communism. What made these students look on politics as an enemy is the violence of Japanese politics and politicians rather than the force of international communism.

The vocal majority has made concerted and orderly actions.[3] Prime Minister Kishi and his party judged that they were well-ordered actions but were carried out without enthusiasm. The petition was completely ignored and the Diet was never disbanded. There was an empty congress and no place for discussion.

In this political situation, the students' requests to enter the office of the Prime Minister and organize protests in the Diet hall were methods used out of sheer desperation. When the sovereign power of the people was at stake, what could the government have done? If the government refuses to disband the Diet, they should have opened the door and listened to the voice of the students. You can't take the reins of government if you're afraid of the flock.

Before placing blame for the violence of breaking through the gates of the Diet Building, we should question who was responsible for the break-in at the Diet Building on May 19.[4] On that night, at approximately 11:45 p.m., dozens of police officers broke violently through the doors between the office of the Secretary-General and the office of the Chairman. In order to bring the Chairman of the Lower House, Mr. Kiyose, to the plenary session, police followed a supreme command and employed brute force. People don't miss things like this. What will happen if the police participate in a tyranny of the majority?[5] On top of this violence, the person responsible for the former war is still alive.

The tragedy of June 15 was caused by such a clash between students and the police who had become a private army of the government, provoking violence in the Diet.[6] It's more than just an abuse of public authority. The police became mad and their weapons were their batons. The fact that there were a large number of victims outside the party proved it. If Japan is a law-abiding country with three pillars of government, they should go back to the May 19 incident and assign stringent responsibility. Unless we investigate who was responsible, victims will continue to be arrested. Politics that uphold force and clamp down on people are slowly returning.

In this unstable flow of time, the factional fighting within the LDP over the election of the presidency has led to several changes in political alignment. This was due not to policy but money, politics, and interests, revealing the substance of power politics. It was said that in the official election of 1957, 300 million yen changed hands. However, as the situation intensified, there was

a rumor that more than twice as much money had changed hands. On July 14, a bureaucrat from the Kichi Cabinet, the Minister of International Trade and Industry, Ikeda Hayato, secured the position of Prime Minister. The inaugural dinner was held at the office of the Prime Minister. On that day, Prime Minister Kishi was stabbed six times in his left thigh and collapsed. The man who stabbed Prime Minister Kishi was a rightist with a badge on his chest allowing him to participate in the LDP meeting.[7] "I thought hurting Prime Minister Kishi would bring about better politics," he confessed. When Prime Minister Kishi first assumed his post he had pledged to eliminate the three evils of poverty, corruption, and violence; before he resigned he also called for the elimination of factions. However, ironically, he was defeated by the violence of a man who participated in a meeting of his own party. It was self-destruction.

On July 19, the Ikeda Cabinet was inaugurated and on the twentieth, Ikeda held a press conference which has been described as low-profile. Around the time of the Diet's dissolution, he responded to the question of what makes state sovereignty by avoiding a clear answer and saying, "I can't say. It is not a question a Prime Minister should answer." The Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Party made demands for a policy speech by Prime Minister Ikeda during the extraordinary Diet session; however, this didn't happen. The Prime Minister's official reason was that this session was only called to designate the Premier and to proclaim the Diet's voluntary resolution of restraint. On July 22, this resolution of restraint didn't pass and the session ended.[8]

***Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*) by Hamaya Hiroshi. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1960. Translation by Lena Fritsch.**

1 – In May and June 1960, Japan experienced some of the largest protests in its history, bringing millions of people onto the streets. They evolved over the passage of a revised security treaty between the United States and Japan, which had first been signed in San Francisco in 1951. Sōgo Kyōryoku oyobi Anzen Hoshō Jōyaku, abbreviated as Anpo [The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security] was signed in Washington on January 19, 1960. When the pact was submitted to the Diet for ratification, it became the subject of heated debate. One of the main points of contention was that the treaty would allow US military bases to remain on Japanese soil. When the House of Representatives approved the treaty on May 20 in a plenary session in which only members of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) took part, the protests increased dramatically. Students criticized the "anti-democratic" methods of the government, and millions signed petitions and participated in public demonstrations or work stoppages. Hamaya Hiroshi's photographs of the Anpo protests were taken between May 20 and June 22, covering the height of the student demonstrations and strikes.

2 – The term that Hamaya cites in the Japanese text is a paradoxical expression used by Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke: "*koe naki koe*" literally meaning "voiceless voices." Kishi claimed that the majority of the Japanese people were "voiceless voices," silently supporting him. He juxtaposed them with the demonstrators who criticized the treaty and his government: he claimed that they were a "minority manipulated by the Communists" and described them as "*koe aru koe*," literally "vocal voices." The term "voiceless voices" was later used by a group of peaceful Anpo demonstrators as a name for their collective. Throughout the text, Hamaya uses the term "*koe*" (voice) repeatedly.

3 After the security treaty was approved on May 20, numerous demonstrations were organised by the Zengakuren student association, the Japan Communist Party, the Japan Socialist Party, and the Sōhyō federation (Japan Labor Unions General Council), all united in a new coalition. Over 13 million people signed petitions, engaged in strikes, and demonstrated against the revised security treaty and the government.

4 – During the negotiations over the security treaty in the Diet Building on the evening of May 19, Socialist members of the Lower House engaged in a sit-down protest to block the speakers of the LDP from reaching the rostrum. The LDP ordered hundreds of police officers to remove the Socialists and to ensure that Kiyose Ichirō, Chairman of the Lower House, could take the podium. The treaty was passed on May 20: only members of the LDP took part in the plenary session, whereas all members of the opposition were absent. Outside the chambers more than thirty thousand protesters demonstrated.

5 – The term "tyranny of the majority" was coined in 1788 by John Adams (1735–1826), the second President of the United States (1797–1801). It describes a political scenario in which decisions are made by a majority, using systems of oppression that are comparable to tyranny.

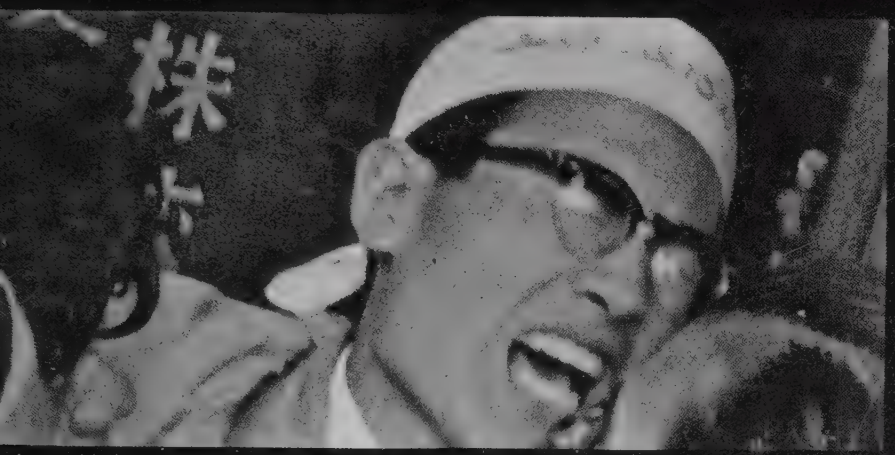
6 – On June 15, student demonstrators attempted to storm the Diet. However, they met with a heavy police presence. A female student, Kanba Michiko, tragically lost her life.

7 – While attending a party to celebrate his successor Ikeda Hayato, Prime Minister Kishi was attacked by a right-wing extremist and stabbed in his thigh. He was seriously injured and taken to the hospital but soon recovered. The sixty-five-year old assailant, Aramaki Daisuke, a member of a small rightist group, was arrested.

8 – Despite widespread demonstrations, the revised security treaty was automatically approved on June 20. Three days later, Prime Minister Kishi announced his resignation and the protests began to calm down. Ten years later, in June 1970, the treaty came up for renewal again and millions took part in protests.

ペン・ポポロ

縄ばしごと鉄かぶと



主婦と生活労組318日斗争写真集

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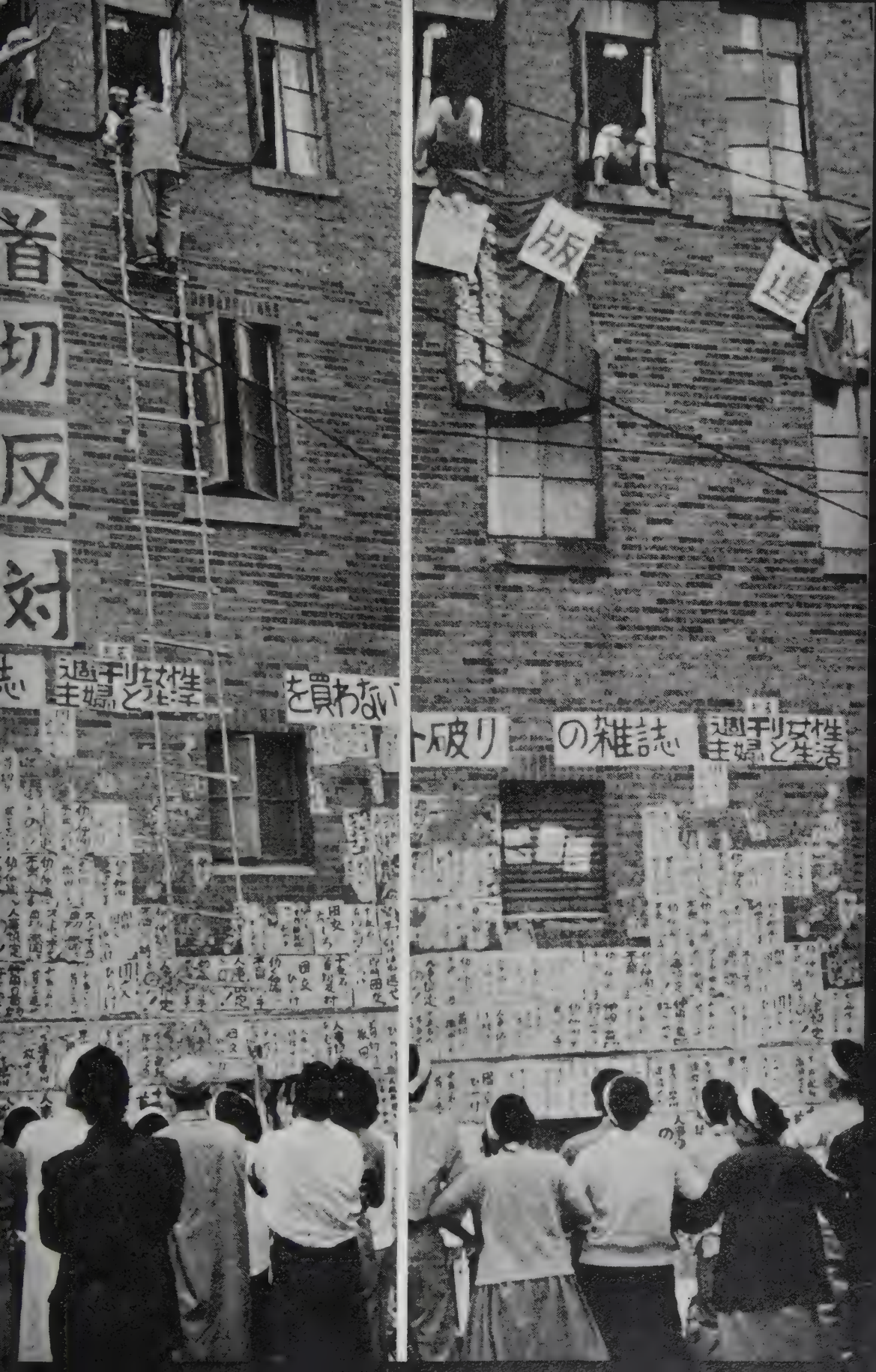
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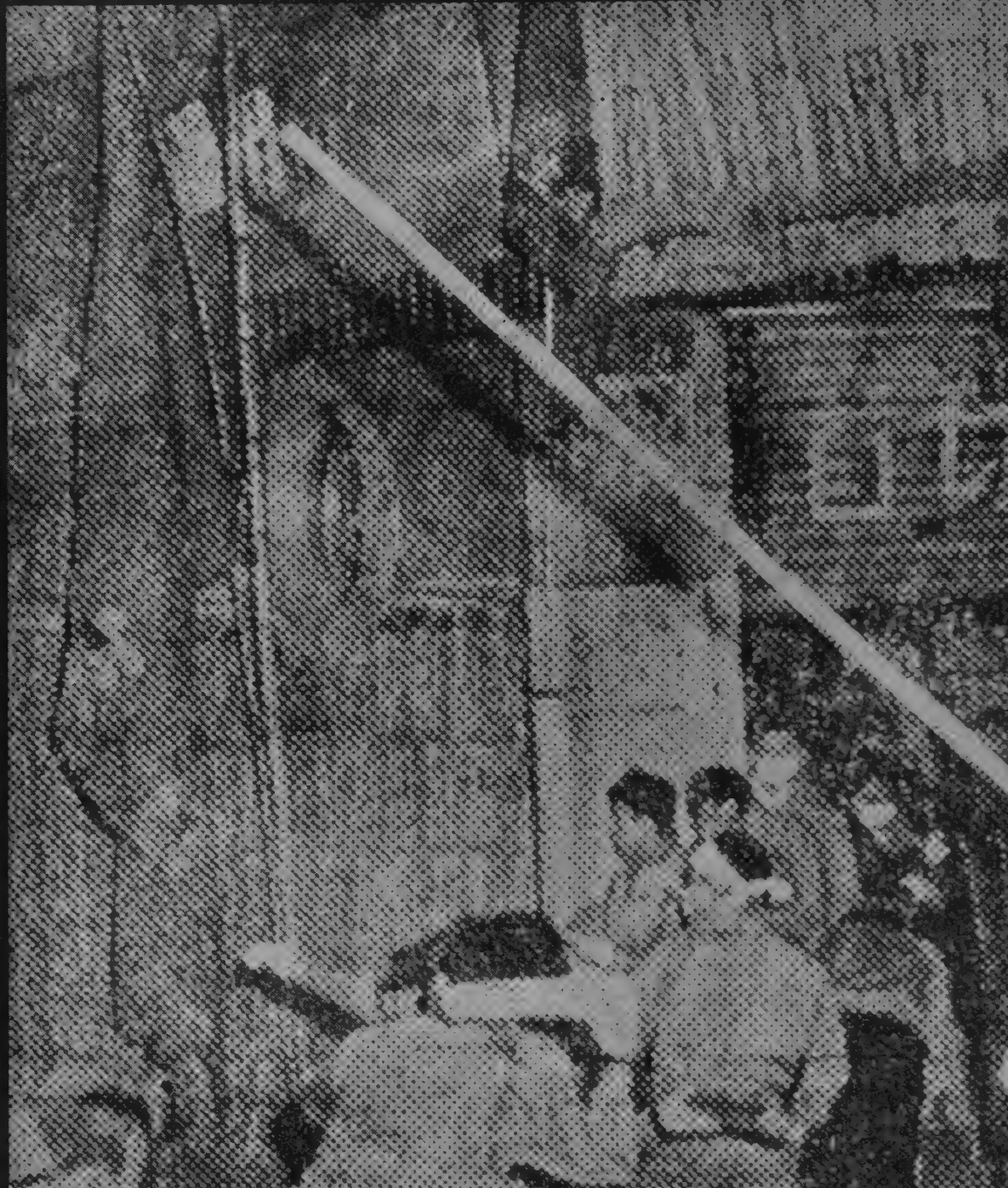


角材を運びこみ、青竹をふり回し、薪を投げつける覆面の男たち。「暴力団で
（写真・産業経済新聞提供・紙面より複写）

ございません。警備員です」と、会社はいうのだが……。ぶっ殺すぞ……(74)

北井一夫＝１９４４年１２月２６日満州に生まれる。現在日本大学芸術学部写真学科３年在学中。

北井一夫作品集１「抵抗」／１９６５年８月１５日第１刷発行／定価６５０円／発行者＝西谷能雄／発行所＝株式会社未来社・東京都文京区小石川３の７・振替東京８７３８５番・電話（８１１）６９６６（８１２）０４５４／製版・印刷＝形成社／製本＝今泉誠文社

©Kazuo Kitai

5 – Kitai Kazuo – *Resistance* – 1965 – Book

¥350

全日本学生写真連盟
公害キャンペーン実行委員会

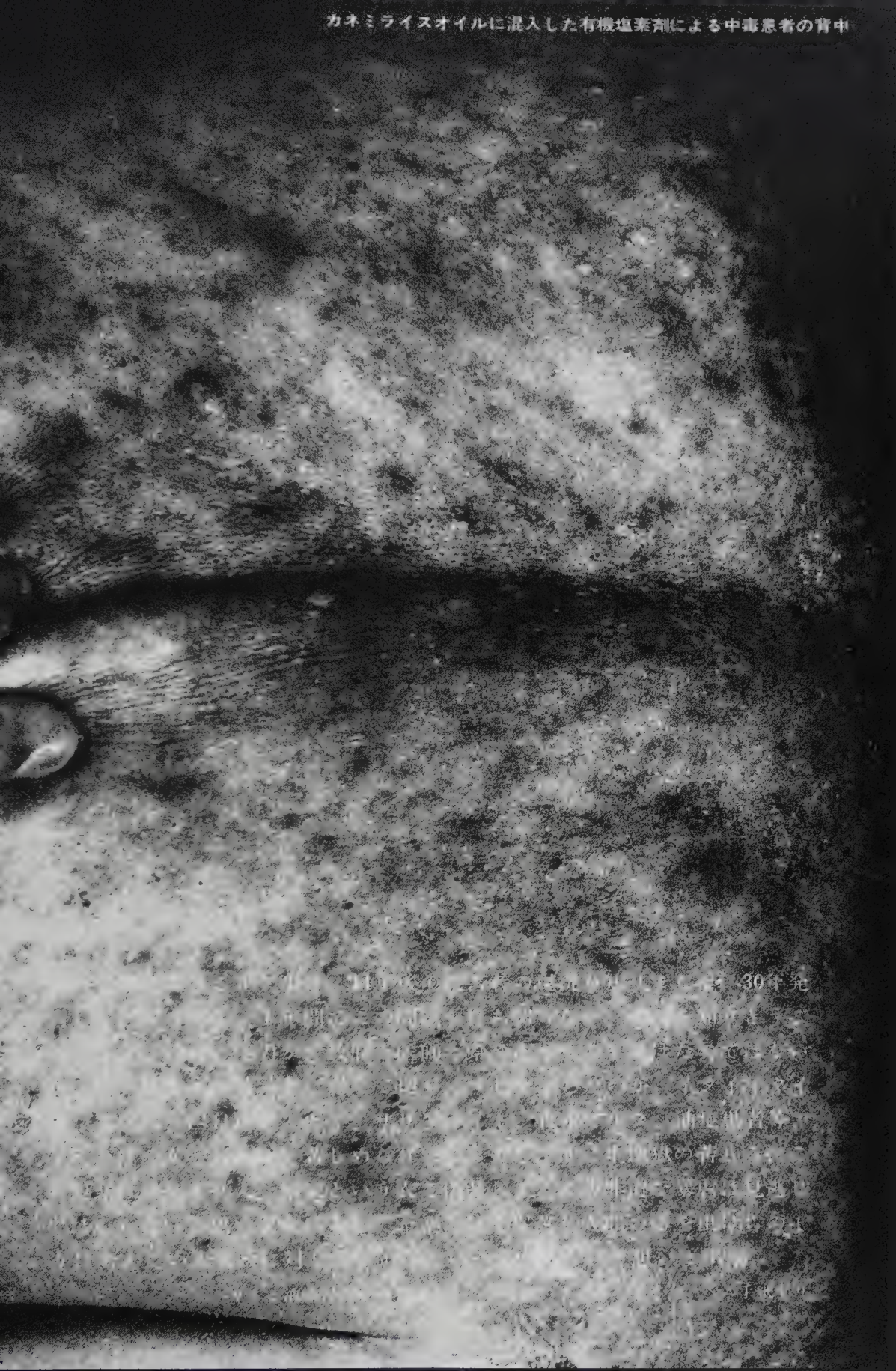
この地上に われわれの国はない

請願のため利根川畔を下る足尾鉱毒被害民1万余人に「兇徒嘯集」の大暴圧が加えられた三日後(明治33年2月17日)、田中正造は議会で「我日本は亡国に至って居る、政府があると思うと違うのである、国があると思うと違うのである」と叫んだ。爾来70年、顧みて“人間”のために政治のあったためしはなく、国のあったためしはなく、そしていま、この地上にわれわれの国はない……

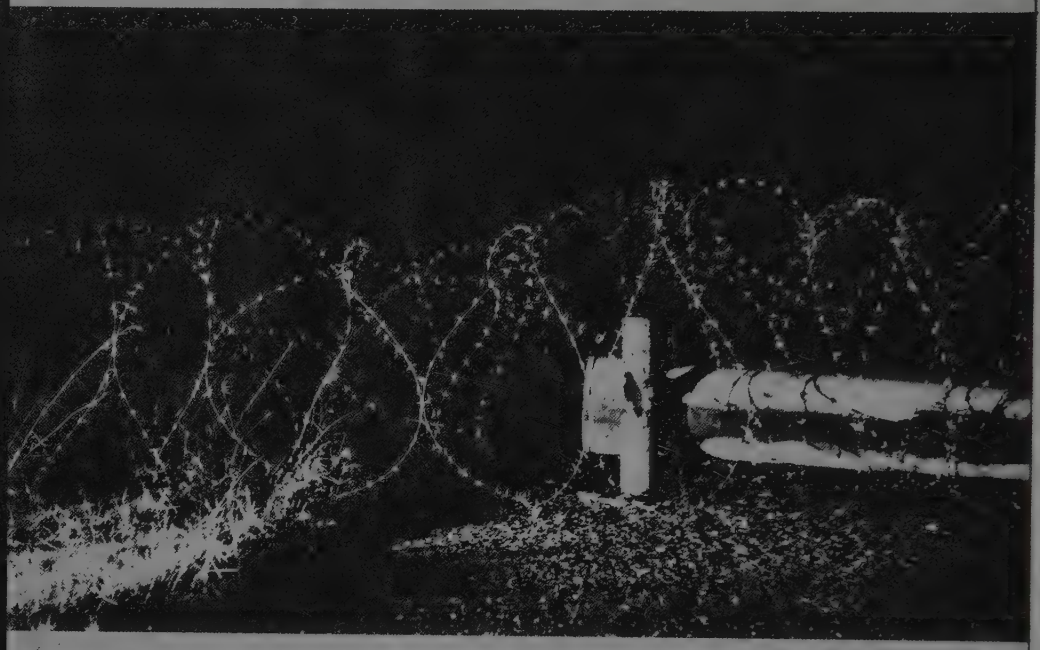
北九州八幡区

[illegible]（古河鉱業硫酸工場）

カネミライスオイルに混入した有機塩素剤による中毒患者の背中



昭和43年、カネミ製油工場から製造過て有機塩素剤の混入した、ライスオイが西南日本にてまわり、被害者1014名死亡2名、小倉では黒い赤ちゃん生ま。現在裁判中で会社側は全面否認



ふたたび10・21を出版する会

¥360

'69

佐ト訪米阻止斗争

11/13-17

7 – The Committee for the Publication of 10.21 – 69 *11/13-17* – 1969 – Book

15日 4:06
法大オニ工業高校
封鎖解除
ガス橋PB
発車
ガス橋
10:50
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右翼、防女延身隊
現われる
下丸
池上線
池上P.B発車、PM1人連れ去る
池上署発車
21:00
革マル500人両
16:00
横浜市大封鎖解除
16:50
少年隊襲撃
池上
17:00
池上一蓮沼間線路上バリ
1000人
17日23:00
横浜アメリカ総領
事館ダイナマイト6本
時限爆弾発火寸前
発見、
多摩川大橋
18:30
蓮沼駅へ向う
16:30
蓮沼駅広場でバス26.7台
でバリケード、放火
16:26
大森から蒲田へ
線路上を
中核2
18:10
蓮沼駅ホームでデモ
バリケード
17日 1:00
徒モーボート場に向う
途中で阻止、250人
15:55
西蒲田
のアパートで
14人逮捕
15:30
中核400名国電
から飛びおり蒲田
16:25
蒲田駅攻撃
蒲田
大森
京浜急行
20時すぎ
革マル等500名到着
大森
京浜急行
六郷橋
19:41
玉川P.B2両に投り攻撃
16:05
蒲田署攻撃
16:05
京浜
カマタ駅襲撃
急行バス
17日 7:00
六郷橋土手広場で
集会、(中)と体当りデモ
—1500人
17日 大森署から羽田まで
100m間隔で
警備車23台の
開上線
17日20:00
川崎市、富士見公園で、国鉄
動力車労組員7800人
が抗議集会
10日 空港警備開始
16日 10:10
羽田空港内前進指揮所
設置(中) 3000人配置
羽田
空港

'69 11・13－17

19:25	蒲田PB襲撃、東口広場激しい投石、着色水放水
20:39	池上線全面ストップ
20:49	東蒲田バリケード
21:03	東口バリケード
22:00	西口PB襲撃
22:21	蒲田税務署前バリケード

10・21	
全国逮捕者	1,508人
東京 〃	1,221人
11・13－17	
全国逮捕者	2,406人
東京 〃	2,040人

Tōmatsu Shōmei
I Am a King

In the evening [of June 22, 1969] there was a party in the basement of Tama Art University to confirm the 150th day of the student barricades. The members of the Zentō (joint student struggle) committee of the Tama School of Art presented a progress report,[1] and each *sekuto* (faction) [2] of the various art universities, including the Aoyama Design School, gave speeches, exchanging greetings of solidarity. Then there was a screening of films by, for example, Chris Marker, followed by a slide show that the Zentō committee had compiled. They projected a portrait of Che Guevara onto the screen. Suddenly a voice resounded in the auditorium: "no objection." Whenever the face of Prime Minister Satō appeared on the screen,[3] they all shouted together: "nonsense." Riot police, Hitler, Yoshida Shigeru[4] were "nonsense" whereas sex, the Beatles, Trotsky, Takakura Ken[5] received "no objection." The evening of the 150th day was already advanced and it was raining heavily outside.

The students of the Zentō committee of the Tama School of Art barricaded the campus because the five terms that the student union had demanded were not accepted by the school authorities. These five terms were based on the students' idea that the university should be run through meetings that both professors and students attend since the university consists of professors as well as students. The first term was to establish a "university-wide committee" as the highest voting body of the university. A student representative shall be allowed to attend this committee and, if he or she had an objection against a decision made, they would negotiate with the students. Second, students shall be given the right to vote the Head of School and the Councillor in and the right to recall them. Third, the students shall be able to participate in curriculum development. Fourth, the university shall make its finances public. Fifth, the university shall make a public announcement refusing to cooperate with the police in their investigations. These were the students' demands; in some cases the wording has been changed. The second, third, and fourth terms are similar to those in other universities so I will not explain them here. However, the first and fifth clauses are unique to the student movement of Tama Art University. Regarding the "university-wide committee" in the first clause, most universities have such a committee. However, at Tama Art University not only is there no "university-wide committee," but there are also no meetings of the individual faculties. Therefore, the student union demands from the relevant authorities that they establish a "university-wide committee" while at the same time claiming the right for a student representative to attend its meetings, and have veto power, its meetings to protect the committee from becoming corrupted by the school director and his representatives. Regarding the fifth clause, on November 6 of last year, the Kanagawa Prefectural Police suddenly entered the university campus with a patrol car and two uniformed policemen. The official reason for [their entry] was to investigate the background of a former student who had taken the exams for the Prefectural Police. This happened only half a month after the Shinjuku demonstrations on October 21 when students were arrested and arraigned on a charge of inciting riots. Perhaps they were just foolish police officers using an investigation of the crime of inciting riots as an excuse; however, it was bad timing and greatly irritated the students. What is more, the university authorities reacted to the students' protests in a non-committal way, behaving rather ambiguously. Within the university, a sense of suspicion was aroused and the students used the incident as an opportunity to intensify their feeling of distrust towards the authorities. Protest rallies, demonstrations, and mass bargaining sessions happened every day and [the students said]: "within this flexible atmosphere and order, the authorities integrate even the will of the revolution into their own system. In this invisible situation of suppression do we sink into a tired and lethargic state or do we yearn for the dawn of the revolution even more? ... The fight for a breakthrough and our self-emancipation that we have already begun has led us to a place of no return. In order to leave the authorities, who have forced and neglected us, behind in the past, why don't we first let our own senses travel to a bewildered wasteland where a violent wind blows?" The student struggle against the university authorities gradually intensified and finally lead to a complete university barricade on January 23, 1969.

Writing these lines today, 180 days have passed since the Tama School of Art came under student control. To tell you what the relevant university authorities have done during this time, rather than facing the educational problems that the Zentō committee had sincerely raised, they continuously evaded the students with statements such as "we don't accept the Zentō committee" or "there won't be any conversations if you don't stop the barricade." They encouraged those students who were calling for seminars to start again and also backed a school normalization promotion committee—if I were to describe this committee in labor union terms, it is a rival labor union. They manipulated the members of the committee and encouraged classes to be held outside of the university. However, it would not be quite right to say that there were no written arguments between the university authorities and the Zentō students. The authorities labeled the students: "What we have here is no longer a problem of education but rather a political fight with pointless arguments which uses the problems of education as a label, while actually only trying to grasp the power to control and supervise the university." In reaction to this, the Zentō members struck back immediately, "Dr. Shioyama has criticized our actions as a 'political fight,' however, if the power movements during this 'political fight' mean that there will be a qualitative change, then we are in a political fight indeed." As you can understand from reading this one sentence, the authorities' viewpoints are remarkably lacking in clarity and can only be interpreted as showing their distrust in the students and their fear of losing their own position. The authorities argue that this is a "political fight with pointless arguments," but so far, haven't they reacted to the students' demands in exactly such a "fighting style, using pointless arguments"? When the students claim something, the authorities do not respond, when they enter into a dialogue, they do not get anywhere; the students have shown resistance, as this is something that they can do even without having any power. The authorities have called the Zentō committee "violence by a small group of people," but it is rather the suppression by those who are in power that is violent, whereas the powerless students' energy as they are seeking a human way of life should not be called violent.

During this written fight, words were thrown by the authorities into the barricade, the students swapped the nouns of the sentences and then returned the words like a boomerang. A former professor of the Tama School of Art, Dr. Yoshimura Kamiya, once told me that when the university and the students stood in opposition to each other, it was mostly the students' viewpoint that was correct. I deeply remember Dr. Yoshimura's opinion expressed in these words, assuming that the students were genuine and not using any political tricks.

During this long period of now 180 days of barricading the university, the Zentō committee struggle transcended their initial five terms. Blocking Tama Art University, which is the nucleus of the Tama School of Art management, they got stuck in the contradictions of capitalism and now their fight aims to dismantle the power of the State itself. The Zentō students proceeded onto the streets, participating in the Sunagawa struggle,[6] Tōdai trials,[7] or targeting the ASPAC (the Asian and Pacific Council),[8] and demonstrating on June 15, shouting "abolish the US-Japan Security Treaty" (*Anpo funsai*) and "recapture Okinawa." They support the student struggle of other universities because during their fights they were confronted with capital, namely the school corporation, and behind its thick wall they have seen the power of the State. During their fight, they have learned that, within the student movement, individual settlements are highly unlikely. Besides the political level of the struggles, these are hard times in which it is difficult for people just to live their lives in a human way and it has to be said that struggles for human rights are excellent political fights. In this sense, it is surely correct to call the struggle of the Zentō committee a political fight.

However, the future of this fight will not be easy. Society is extremely decadent and controlled. The students seek to dismantle the established order and although their struggle is legitimate in its own way, it is obvious to everyone that their confrontation with the power of the State is unbalanced. However, this does not mean that their fight will stop. The students who joined the uprising in every part of the whole country have gone through a complete rebellion and clearly cut open one end of this society which is usually closed and without any exit. This is something that no individual or government has achieved before.

The Tama School of Art student struggle for human rights, which started with their five-point demands has not remained a simple institutional reform of the university. Rather, the fight is now concerned with the broader question of how people should live. There is no end to their fight and it continues to expose the deceitfulness of words that do not lead to any actions and to question the ambivalence of ideologies and actions. Thus, there will not be any victory or defeat in this permanent struggle.

I was a lecturer in the photography department of the Tama School of Art until just before the students barricaded the building. I have to write "I was" in the past tense as today I am in a situation where I have resigned from the university. Even before the university was barricaded I intended to resign from my post as a full-time lecturer in the photography department. I had told my colleagues that my intention would not change after the blockade. I no longer receive any salary and none of those letters that I used to get from the university every month. But wouldn't it be common sense for the school authorities to send a letter of confirmation and then an official notice of a change in personnel? At the time, I thought their behavior was understandable as the campus was barricaded, and I assumed that the authorities treated my resignation rather lightly and didn't pay much attention to it. However, later on, I heard from various sides that some school officials thought that "the orchestrator of the Zentō committee is Tōmatsu." I was surprised indeed.

This was the first time that I understood the school authorities' real intentions in not sending me a single word of farewell and just cancelling my salary. The authorities had not accepted my notice of resignation but had rather disposed of me, thinking of me as "a leader in the violent students' shadows." I have to say, this was just thoughtless. The university authorities greatly overestimated my value while underestimating that of the students. They thought of the students as people who are guided by the lecturers. The authorities were scared, unable to stand up against the students' barricade; thus it might well be that they imagined an orchestrator. Or the authorities may have made up an orchestrator in order to somehow benefit from it. It is also possible to think that they falsely accused me, just making use of the fact that I had announced my resignation.

A lecturer at Tama Art University, Dr. Hariu Ichirō[9] wrote in the autumn issue of *Bijutsu Techō*: "On April 20, when the Tama School of Art had already been barricaded for a few months, the Zentō committee of the Tama School of Art barricaded the main building of the Tama Art University. Mr. Shioyama, who had been promoted to become the new director of the Tama School of Art, had continuously ignored the Zentō barricade. He had assembled the other ordinary students and began to organize seminars outside of the school building—a similar method was now used in reaction to the barricade of the main building as well. The trustees did not come near the university; they did not prepare any temporary offices and while spreading false rumors of a 'Hariu school' or 'a takeover,' they split the university-wide committee and continued their maneuvers to start seminars together with the individual faculties." It is only natural that Tama Art University and the Tama School of Art dealt with the conflicts in very similar ways as they are both managed by the same corporate body. The authorities underestimated the members of the Zentō committee and presented them as puppets in order to distract the regular students, who were not involved in the barricades, from their fellow students' actions. This can be seen as a political fraud.

Let me warn you so there are no misunderstandings: the reasons why I continue to write about my private affairs, which I normally would not write about at all, is because I am seen as connected to the student struggles as I was a lecturer at the Tama School of Art. It is possible that the authorities will say: "You see, I told you so," exaggerating their theory of "Tōmatsu, the orchestrator," once again spreading false rumors and strongly dividing the students. Why did I then decide to take photographs of the student struggle at the Tama School of Art rather than at the University of Tokyo or Nihon University? This is simply due to the fact that I am interested in the questions of why these excellent students—eager to learn photography, students that I met in the classrooms just before the university was barricaded—threw away their cameras, constructed a barricade, and have continued to fight.

In this way, due to my personal interest and concern, I visited the students inside the barricade for the first time. However, what awaited me were strict questions by the students—such as "why

do you take photos here?"—and "what will you do with these photos?", and looks of distrust. In their eyes, I was one of the lecturers who had run away from problems, a bad person who would usually use progressive language but not do anything, to avoid getting his hands dirty. Moreover, my visit to the barricade seemed to have reminded them of their early experiences with fellow students who had fought with them in the barricade but then used "shooting" as an excuse for leaving the problem, escaping into photography as a means of representation.

Again, I did not get the timing right, I was a thoughtless person. Who am I really—I am called an orchestrator by the school authorities and a criminal by the students. However, I have created a picture story that shows the solitude of a lone wolf, walking away from the sun towards a barren wasteland ...

On September 20, the university authorities issued an order to the students to leave. Those who had built a barricade at Tama Art University and the attached Tama School of Art waited for the riot police that the authorities had ordered, assuming a posture of defense. However, the riot police did not come on the following day or the day after that either. It was on October 19 in the early dawn that the riot police entered Tama Art University— just before the "national anti-war" day of October 21. Eighteen students were arrested that day. It was even later, on the morning of October 28, that the riot police entered the Tama School of Art. It was on the 279th day after the construction of the barricades that the castle finally came down.

Excerpt from *I Am a King* (Tokyo: Shashin Hyōron-sha, 1972), translated by Lena Fritsch.

1 – The Tama Geijutsu Gakuen [Tama School of Art] was an affiliate of Tama Art University, and offered classes, in photography, film, and printmaking, among others. It was founded in 1954 and closed in 1992.

2 – Tōmatsu uses the word *sekuto* (from the English "sect") here. In 1960, the nationwide Zengakuren organization (All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government) split into numerous warring factions, which were referred to as *sekuto*.

3 – Satō Eisaku (1901–1975) served as Prime Minister of Japan from 1964 until 1972. His policies, particularly his support of the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan (1951) allowing US military forces to remain in Japan, led to heavy criticism and student protest during the 1960s.

4 – Yoshida Shigeru (1878–1967) served as Prime Minister of Japan from 1946 until 1947 and again from 1948 until 1954, retiring from the Diet in 1963. Under Yoshida's leadership, Japan placed a strong emphasis on the country's economic growth while relying on the United States' military protection. The students were particularly critical of this reliance on the United States and Japan's dependence in foreign affairs.

5 – Takakura Ken (1931–2014) was a popular Japanese film and TV star who appeared in numerous films as a hero or anti-hero. He was awarded the Japan Academy Prize four times.

6 – The Sunagawa struggle refers to demonstrations against a US military base, which began in 1955 in Sunagawa, a district of the city of Tachikawa, near Tokyo. After an official of the Tokyo Procurement Office had asked the mayor of Tachikawa in his house in Sunagawa to support the expansion of the US base in Tachikawa, hundreds of protesters gathered to demonstrate against the base.

7 – *Tōdai* (the University of Tokyo), the most prestigious university in Japan, became home to Japan's biggest student upheaval in early 1968. *Daigaku tōsō* (the university struggle) was sparked by disputes between medical interns and the university authorities over student rights and working conditions. Under agreements between the government and the hospitals, medical graduates were required to work unpaid in hospitals for twelve months after their graduation. The Doctors Registration Bill, under which the law was enacted, was revised in late 1967 and set to go before the Diet in summer 1968.

8 – In May 1969, student activists and leftists organized a large-scale campaign against the fourth meeting of the Asian-Pacific Council (ASPAC) held in Shizuoka in June. ASPAC had been established in Seoul in 1966 with the aim of strengthening economic cooperation and security in the region. Critical of Japan's policies and the new alliance, a large number of students demonstrated on the streets in May. Many were arrested.

9 – Hariu Ichirō (1925–2010) was a well-known art and literary critic, teaching at Tama Art University, Wako University, and Okayama Prefectural University. In the late 1940s, he participated in avant-garde art movements with, for example, Okamoto Tarō. He was politically active, taking part in demonstrations and strikes in the 1950s and 60s.

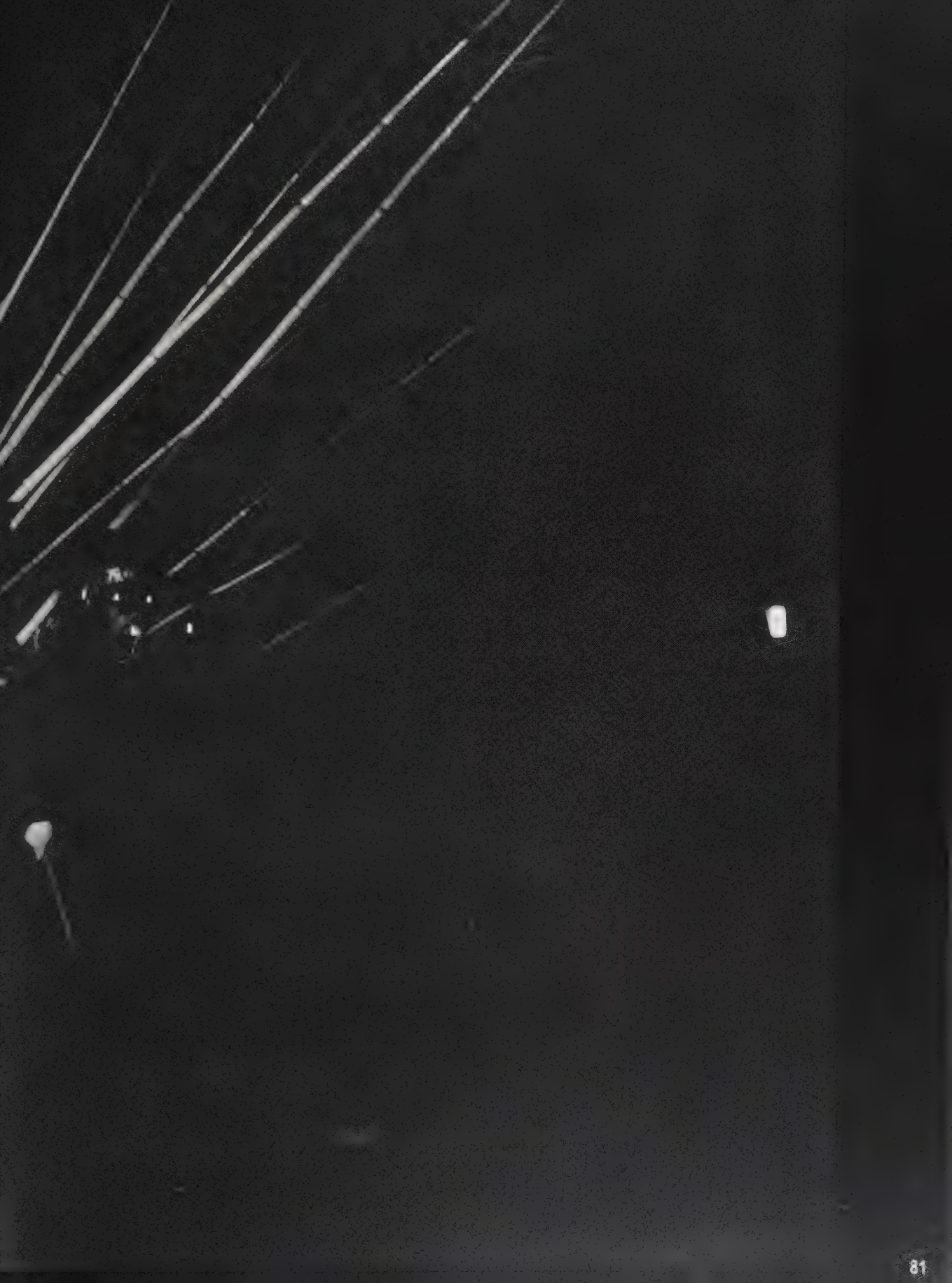
●日本大学全学共斗会議記録局「解放区'68」編集委員会

¥200

解放区 '68

—日大斗争の記録—

1968年、日大斗[illegible]日大学60年の暗黒の歴史から、日大10万学生の記念すべき日が、とうとうやってきた。



Fukushima Tatsuo
***Sekai ninshiki no hōhō* (*A Method for Understanding the World*)**

Because the photographic apparatus is based on a scientific system that records the external optical state of things, people can utilize it for different purposes, just like the tape recorder.

It can be used to duplicate information or document the ecological systems of animals, plants, microorganisms, or celestial objects. Certainly, the photographic system can also be utilized to take commemorative photographs.

Nevertheless, once we try to capture a certain *something* that is not (or is beyond) the external or optical state of things—things that are invisible to the eye, such as the meaning of things, the reasons for their existence, and the ways in which civilization and humanity ought to exist—then photography becomes an expressive method with a clear purpose. Photography ceases to be a series of scientific mechanisms and becomes instead a method for raising the subjective consciousness of people and things, revealing the problems that exist between them and the world. This is inevitable and there is no way to escape it. Any halfhearted thoughts or attempts at concealing yourself will be exposed by your photographs, as if you are a hunter whose scheme is foiled by the fox. As long as the world is not suddenly demolished by a nuclear explosion and mankind is not extinguished, we cannot escape from *photography* and we will continue to photograph. Just as humankind cannot live without questioning or being questioned about the meaning of life (or as long as this is true), we cannot photograph without questioning or being questioned about the meaning of photography.

Nevertheless, many people and university camera clubs today refrain from clarifying the purpose of photography, or want to clarify it but do not know how to begin. For instance, at the regular meetings of some camera clubs, students only discuss the photographer's intentions and suggest ways to improve their realization. They limit their discussions to the technical aspects of photography, claiming that if they expanded their discussions to encompass the photograph's content, they would be dealing with the personal, which would be an intrusion on the maker's freedom of thought and an invasion of the individual rights of the photographer. Many camera clubs surprisingly agree on this point. Nothing new will come from clubs that misleadingly think they are free because they refrain from (or avoid) discussions of meaning and content (because their attitude, which values technique above all else, is random nonsense).

Similar examples can also be found in student collaborations, photography training workshops, etc. Most camera clubs today are akin to storage rooms filled with junk from the past.

It took considerable time for the Meiji University Camera Club to become what it is today. Like many others, the club also initially struggled with the typical problems, which the members wanted to do something about, but were not exactly sure how to address. Eventually, through a continuous process of trial and error, the club was able to find solutions and become what it is today.

To resolve these problems, every single member has to be able to explain how he or she wants the club to *truly* exist. (What is remarkable about the Meiji University Camera Club is that this condition has been *barely*, but *certainly* achieved. This achievement is incredibly rare among all the clubs that I know, and I believe it is the result of seven years of twists and turns.)

It is important to note that clubs are not like children who will grow bigger even when left alone. Rather, a club is composed of individual members, and when *something* dies in a member, a certain part of the club dies as well. Similarly, when something is born, a certain part of the club lives on—this is the nature of university clubs. Hence, clubs can die out very easily. Most clubs try to gather their carcasses as if bundling firewood, holding annual events, socials, collaborations, and exhibitions. Through these events, they *hold themselves together*, attempting to prevent the club from falling apart. However, what is dead is dead, and these methods cannot breathe new life into dead things.

(For a club to truly exist as a "living thing," the newly born and things that *ought to live* inside each member, must surpass what is dying and things that ought to die. A club can and should exist only on this precarious basis.

But that is the very reason why,
It is able to fly!)

This club currently faces a big challenge. To put it simply, it is to overcome using "photography as a mirror"—to resist treating photography merely as a method for understanding, developing, or critically and creatively enhancing the self.

While it is the ultimate truth that photography is a "method for understanding the self," when a club considers "photography as a mirror," its members become inward-looking, only addressing their personal problems on their own. Preoccupied with self-development, such a method is a self-enclosed circle (it is a kind of "closed" circulatory system).

Photographs taken by such a club are governed by its own laws, in which members are unable to develop the subjective consciousness of the "self" in relation to reality, and thus are only capable of treating problems individually relevant to themselves. In other words, the self is shut off from the rest of the world because of its self-enclosed development. This insular self, after reaching the farthest point, will start to deteriorate. When the "method for understanding the self" does not develop into the "method for understanding reality," and the "method for understanding reality" splits and breaks away from the "method for understanding the self," the photographer (the subject), his photographs, and his "reality" will walk the path toward decay and eventually perish entirely.

Thus far, each member in the Meiji University Camera Club has successfully reflected on photography as a personal issue, making it possible for the club to legitimize its existence as a university club and a camera club against the backdrop of "reality" and the "world."

I sincerely hope that their "method for understanding the self" is simultaneously a "method for understanding reality," and that their "method for understanding reality" is a "method for understanding the world."

***Ashibumi hikōki (Treadle Airplanes)*, Tokyo: Meiji University Camera Club, 1966. Translated by Sandy Lin.**

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東大全共闘
われわれにとって
東大闘争とは何か
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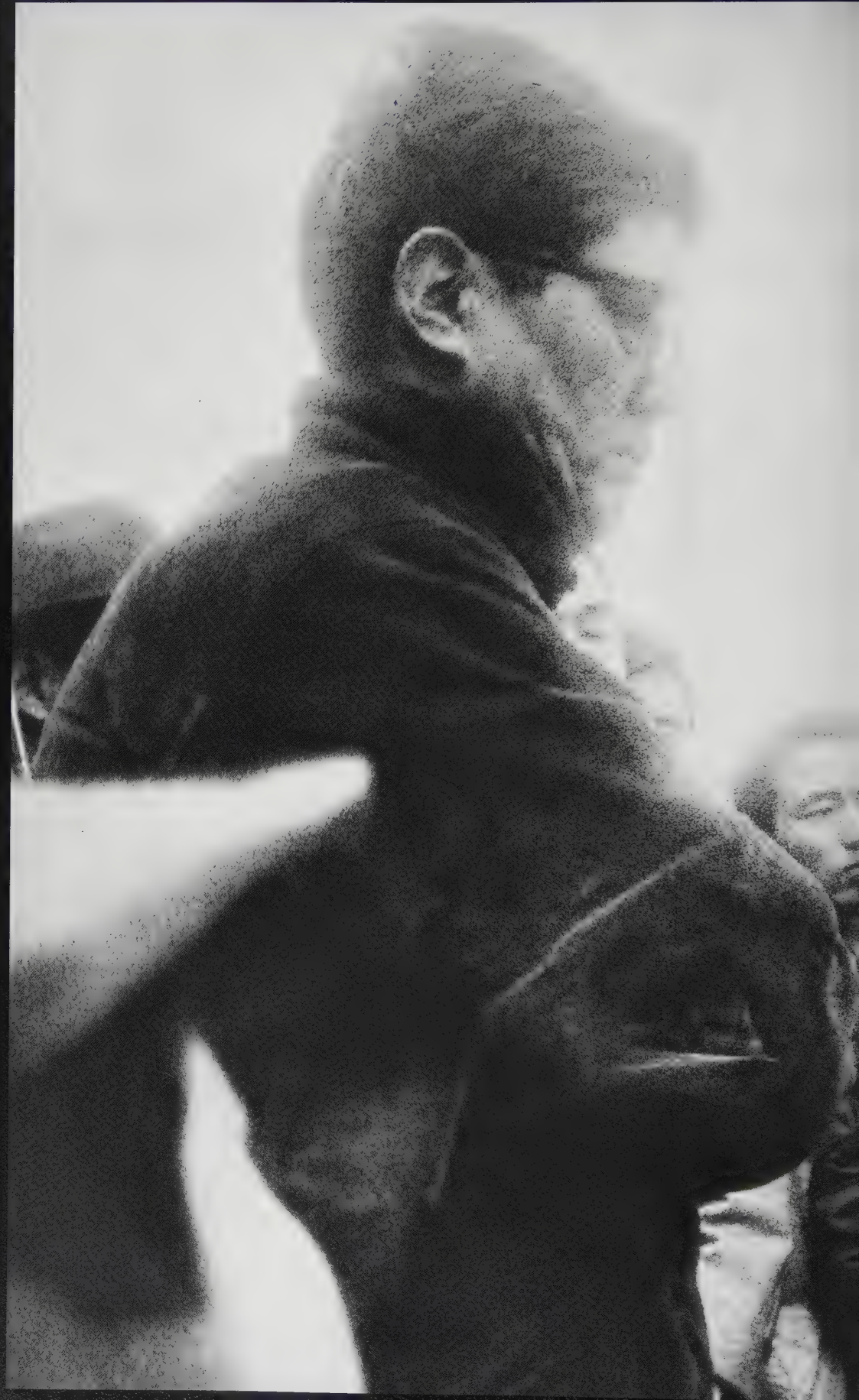
渡辺眸
編集：
東大全学助手共闘会議



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92

日大闘争

12 – All University Joint-Struggle Committee of Nihon University – *Nihon University Protests* – 1969 – Book

12-10
12-10

Nihon University Protests
"Afterword"

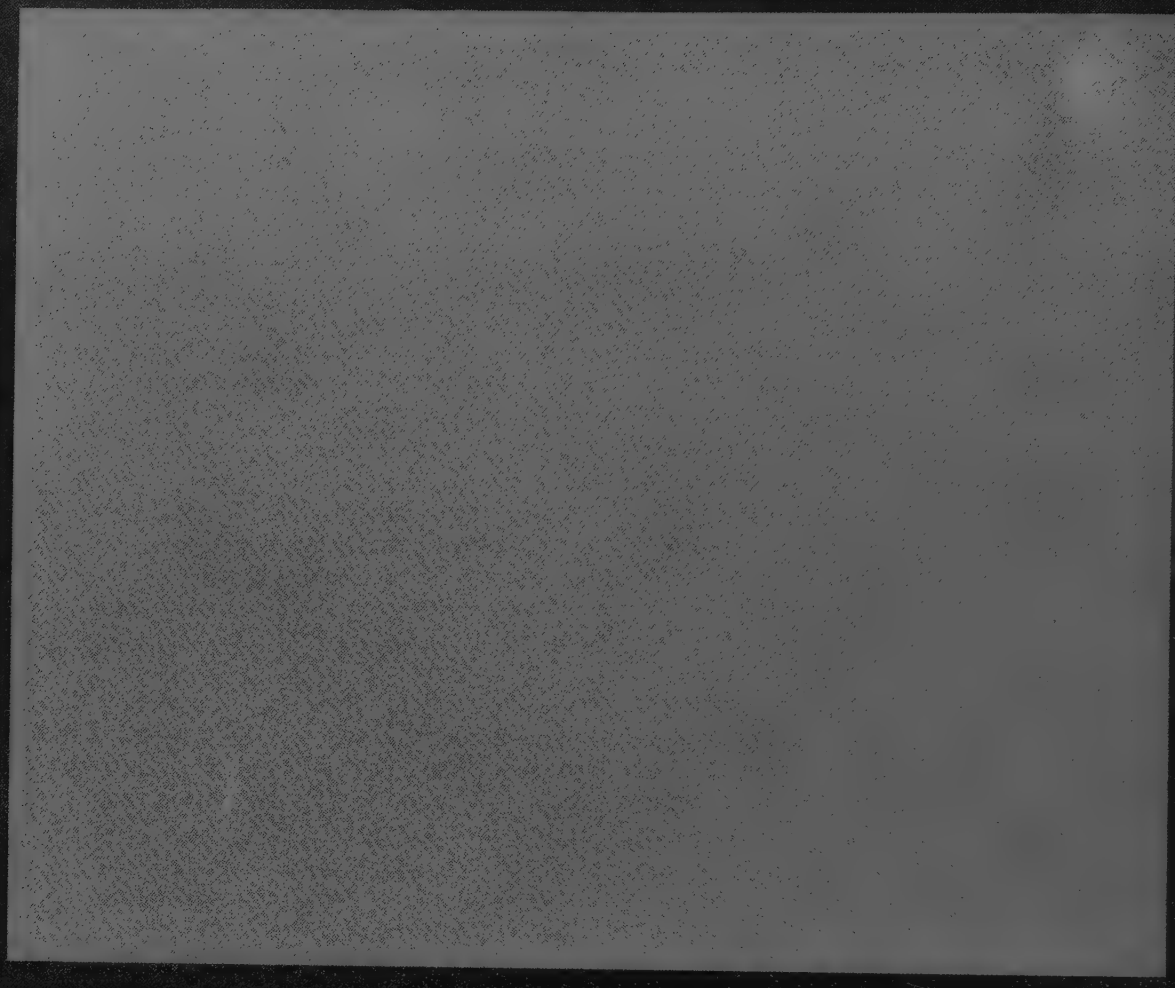
Several hours before we completed the final draft of this book, the University of Tokyo campus was violated twice by state power. Inside the room where we had been editing, an injured individual who had taken a direct hit from tear bombs lay on the ground. Our clothes smelled of the nauseating gases which irritated our nose. "Bastards!" Anger welled up in us in spite of our fatigue.

Photo Book: Nihon University Protest or *Graphic Book: Nihon University Protest*; we refuse to call this book by either of these names. This book was put together through the struggles of Nihon University comrades. We wish to dedicate this book as a love letter to all fellow students who are fighting on their campuses throughout Japan and the world. We also hope that it will be read as a report on the Nihon University All-Campus Joint Struggle League, which shall continue for a long time. This book contains photographs that should not be reported and also embarrassments that we would not want to reveal to the general public. However, with the understanding that the authorities are withholding even more data, we deliberately expose all of ourselves to show everyone the real face of the Nihon University protests: how our struggles have been liberating, wonderful, and painful. If we are able to urge those fellow students who have distanced themselves from the battle line to join our struggles, then we have succeeded in conveying our love with this book. If we can garner more support from the general public, then we will be able to have more trust in humanity.

Needless to say, most of the photographs in this book were shot by the documentary squad of the All-Campus Joint Struggle League. At times carrying wooden staves in their hands and at other times the camera, they photographed relentlessly. We are not afraid of being incomplete. Rather, we identify joy and beauty in the incomplete, just like each of our wooden staves.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to the female photographer Ms. Manami, who took many of the photographs for the creation of this book; the Godō Sangyō publishing department, who undertook the entire publishing process; and everyone who worked with us on the editing. Finally, we salute all protesters with a call for solidarity.

Edited by Nichidai zengaku kyōtō kaigi shokikyoku (Nihon University All-Campus Joint Struggle League Secretariat). Tokyo: Gōdō Sangyō kabushikigaisha shuppan-bu, 1969. Translated by Sandy Lin.



羽田10・8以来、明らかに日本の現実は、逐次破滅的権力の実態を露呈しながら、70年安保改定へとつき進んでいく。

人間圧殺100年の歴史からたちあがり、今こそ自己の深奥から現実へといたる変革の視座をつかみとろうとする人々のために、この一冊の本をおくる。

「10・21とはなにか」——このとき、われわれのなかの無名の群集は、はじめて、日本を震駭する原点をもちえた……

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10・21とはなにか

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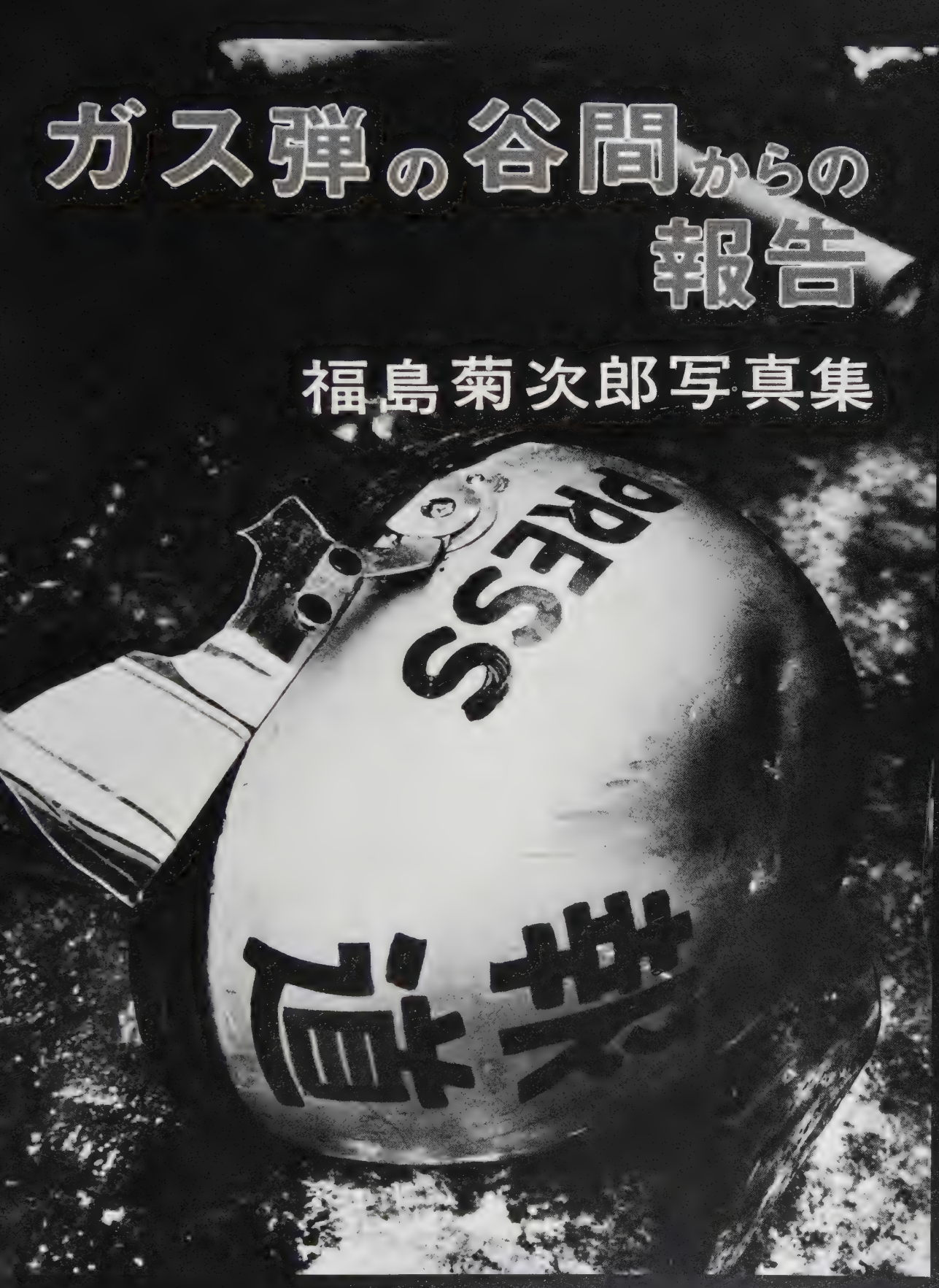
ガス弾の谷間からの報告

福島菊次郎写真集



15 – Fukushima Kikujirō – *Report from the Valley of Tear Gas* – 1969 – Book

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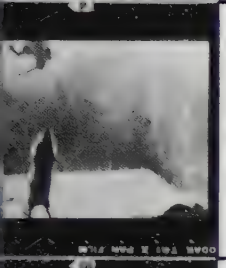
右手ちがいのぶこ 整体手

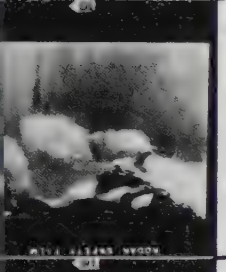
ガス弾と
催涙液による動物実験

致死量の『CN』(クロロアセトフェーン)と、ガス弾粉末を使って動物実験をした結果、モルモットは2時間、ハツカネズミは1時間20分で死んだ。人家の密集地帯で使用すれば、死亡事故の起ることも十分に考えられる。ベトナムでは、塹壕内に打ち込まれたガス弾で、実際に、多数のベトナム人が殺傷された、という報告がある。

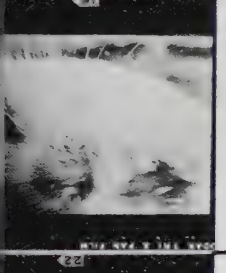
〈1～30秒〉
『CN』を充填したガラス容器に入れたモルモットは、はじめ環境の変化に驚いて、逃げだそうと歩きまわるが、20～30秒で静かになり、涙をだして、盛んに目や鼻腔をこすりはじめる。



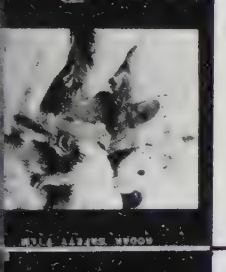
〈1～2分〉
多少の差はあるが、この時間帯では、動きが緩慢になり、脱糞・放尿をはじめる。次第にとびはねる力を失って、床に倒れる。ハツカネズミの場合、その後3～4分で急に狂乱状態となる。



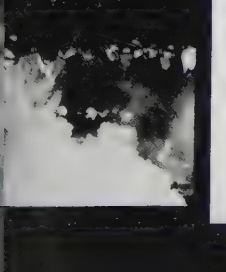
〈5～10分〉
狂乱状態がつづき、やがて実験動物は、動作が緩慢になっていく。ついにとぶこともできなくなり、床に倒れる。呼吸がみるみるうちに激しくなり、耳たぶや皮膚の色が不気味に変色する。



〈10分～1時間〉
呼吸困難に陥り、多量の鼻汁やヨダレを流し、ときおり断続的に引きつった息をする。四肢を小きざみにケイレンさせ、微弱になった吸呼も、その動きを止める。鼻腔が白い泡に覆われる。

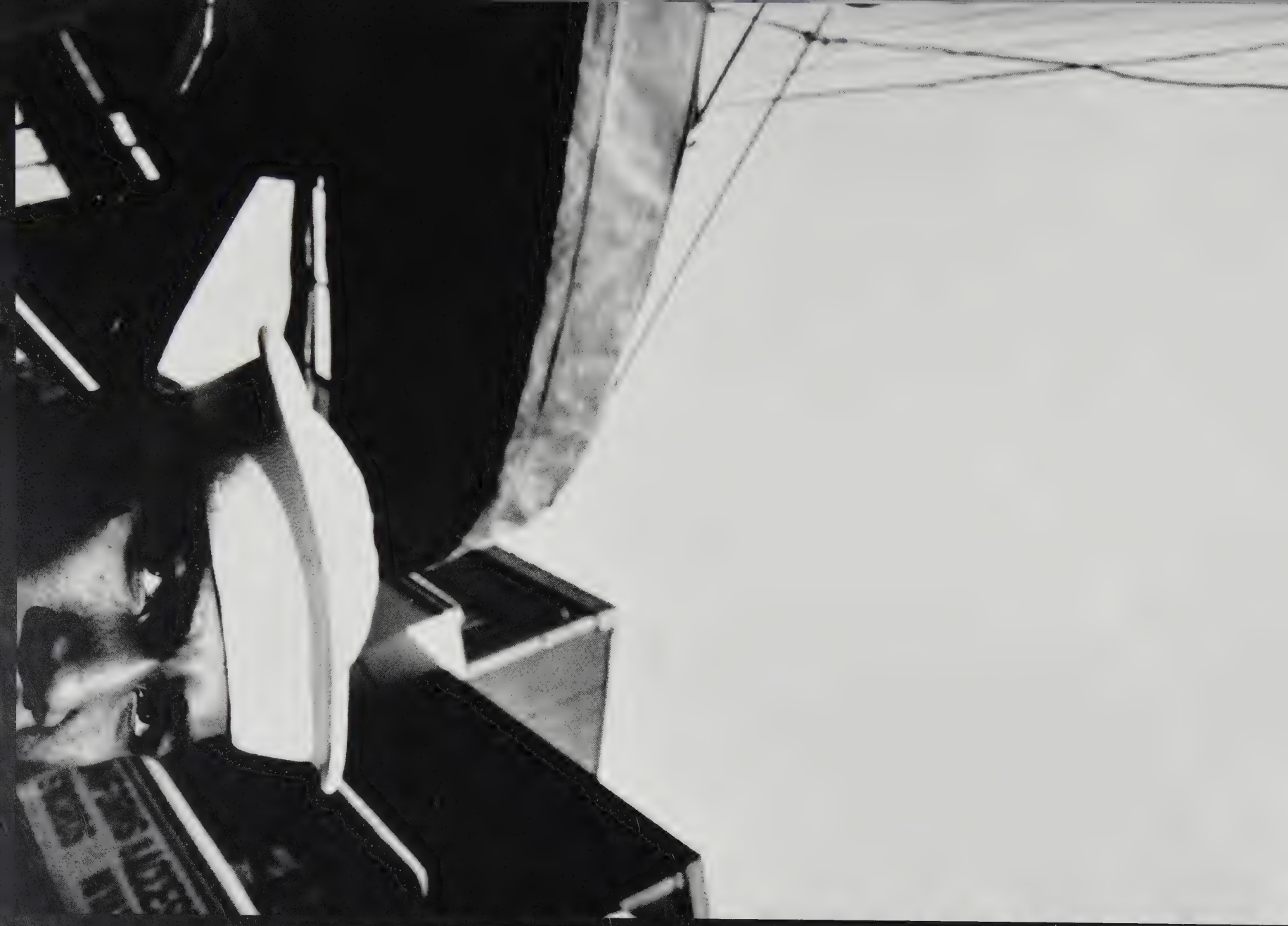


〈1時間～2時間〉
呼吸する動きがなくなり、白い泡が地面までたれさがる。最後のひと呼吸が鼻先で大きな泡をつくり、実験動物は絶命した。ハツカネズミは1時間20～30分、モルモットは2時間であった。

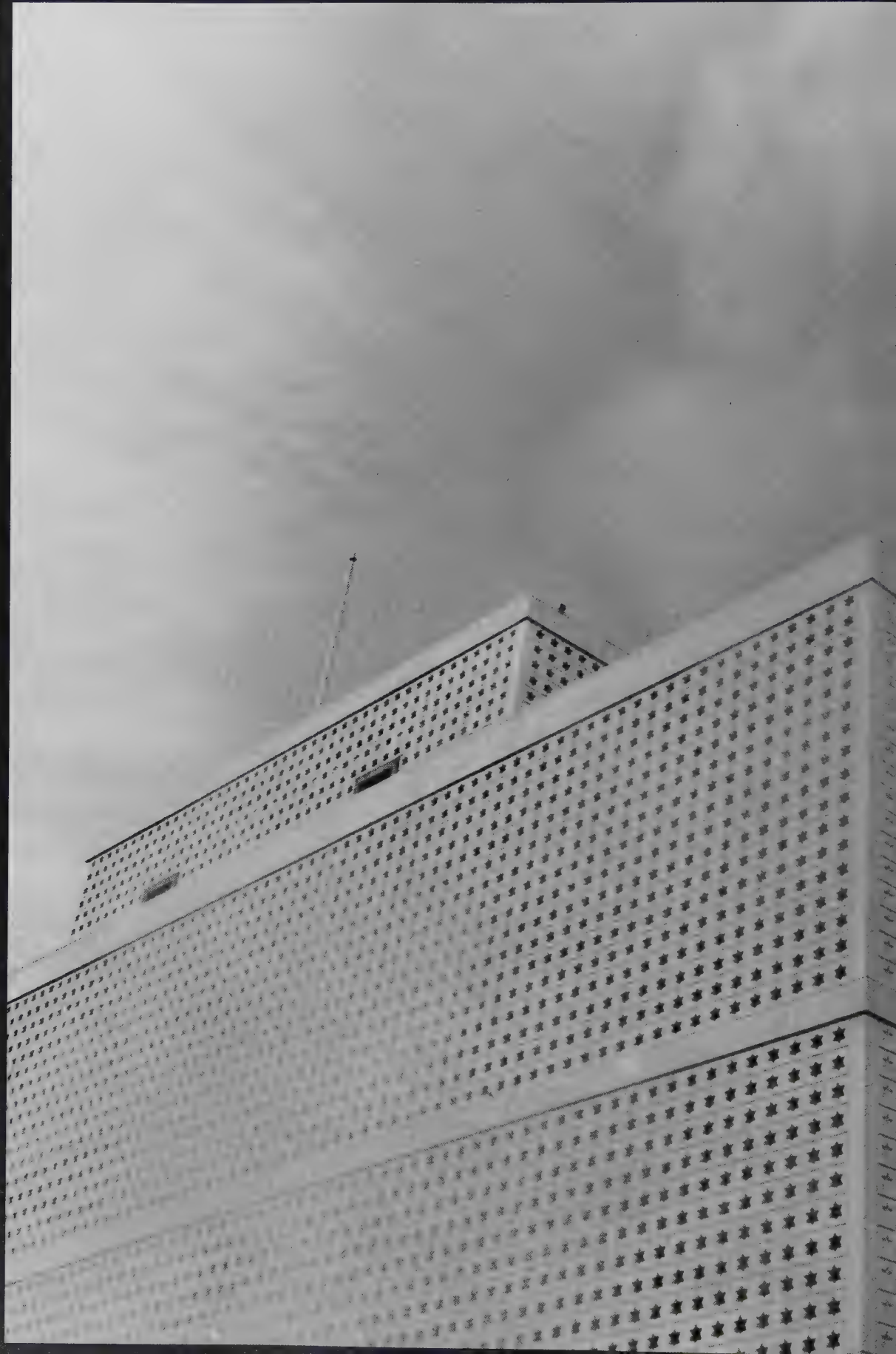


薬剤は、モルモットは容器に致死量の『CN』溶液。ハツカネズミにはガス弾粉末の適当量を、当初、5分後、10分後、20分後に投入したもので、致死量計算は正確でないことを附記する。

16 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *House 5, Shimo Island, Amakusa, Kumamoto* – 1959 – Photograph



17 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *Untitled*, from the series *Chewing Gum and Chocolate* – 1966 – Photograph



18 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *Castle, Tokyo* – 1963 – Photograph

19 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *Protest, Shinjuku, Tokyo* – 1969 – Photograph

20 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *Screen, Shinjuku, Tokyo* – 1969 – Photograph

Okada Takahiko
"Asufaruto" (Asphalt)

When the stars start to come out, I walk around the city, making sure I don't miss a single detail of the landscapes that come into view. Then, of all the things I could say, I occasionally whisper to myself, "Tokyo on my mind." Although I cannot fully understand with what emotions Americans say, "America on my mind," I think people living in Tokyo feel more distressed than people living in New York. To say the least, our everyday lives in Tokyo—an amazing and yet decaying city that is abundant in matter—are filled with intense struggles against matter. These struggles transform our lives in extremely complex ways. Changing over time, our lives are destined to decline. However, we must question the conventional phrase "struggles against matter." Certainly, there is no doubt that since the primitive age, our lives have ironically maintained a state that is "against matter." We live in a desolate land also known as a city under capitalism, which is easily consumed by commodity fetishism. Matter sometimes exists as objects, and objects sometimes exist as matter. And how ubiquitous they are in front of our eyes and in our surroundings! When faced with such an immense increase in the quantity of matter, we convert our perceptions into images [which are triggered by our experiences]. We must not forget that one of our misfortunes lies in the fact that this conversion happens too smoothly and easily. We have been stuck in this phenomenon and that is why I argue that the phrase "struggles against matter" should be questioned. I do not wish to call each of our images [that are triggered by our experiences] unreal—rather, they create yet another reality that strangles our lives. Since this second reality is so overblown and ubiquitously drifting about, we might as well call it "another sleep," after Pascal. (Often, we realize that this second reality is actually the first, especially when notable changes occur to the body). "Oh, dear Tokyo on my mind!" We have walked very far, at various hours, and through various spaces and roads. Should we be delighted or should we mourn the fact that the roads we have taken are almost always paved with concrete or asphalt? Even when we scream for an answer, our voices are erased by the sounds of the air-conditioning machines and the voices of frustrated, drunk youths who endlessly vomit on the streets through the night. The beautiful luster of suppressed guns is now trivial.

I've always been fascinated by the Beat Generation, which was active in America particularly during the 1950s. The novel *On the Road*, together with the poem "Howl" by Allen Ginsberg—the bible of that generation—captivated the hearts of many young men. In *On the Road*, Jack Kerouac writes:

> *Suddenly I found myself on Times Square. I had traveled eight thousand miles around the American continent and I was back on Times Square; and right in the middle of a rush hour, too, seeing with my innocent road-eyes the absolute madness and fantastic hoorair of New York with its millions and millions hustling forever for a buck among themselves, the mad dream—grabbing, taking, giving, sighing, dying ...*[1]

About thirty years prior to the publication of *On the Road* in 1955, T. S. Eliot wrote, in the fourth stanza of *The Waste Land*, "Unreal city, / ... Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled, / And each man fixed his eyes before his feet."[2] It could be said that what the protagonist of *On the Road* felt in Times Square was anticipated by Eliot's "unreal city." But the roads of post-World War I London on which people fixed their eyes must have still retained some fragrant traces of dirt. Or even if you could not smell any dirt, some leaves must have occasionally fallen on the ground. If the city streets of the 1920s were indeed much closer to "nature" than today, then the poet had correctly foreseen the future state of the city. Some thirty years have also passed since switching to this mineral called asphalt, and it is now produced with much advanced technology. Images of asphalt have unexpectedly permeated deeply through our everyday lives, becoming very familiar to us. Writing on these shifts, P[ierre] Restany[3] points out that we are witnessing the birth of a new language; this new language is based on a new interpretation of nature by today's

youth—a nature that is different from that of Virgil, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, or the Lake Poets. In other words, nature is no longer sentimental or pastoral, but can be found in the industrialized, commercialized city. In short, the transformed "environments" of industrialized civilizations have replaced the "nature" that artists used to depict in previous eras. My reasoning may sound far-fetched, but I find one of these "environments" to be present in Tokyo's asphalt. Various kinds of waste are combined together with thermoplastic materials and undergo the essential human act of "crossing." Asphalt acquires a kind of two-dimensionality, embodying the environment and the essence of our living reality, while simultaneously deteriorating.

Shedding light on each and every thing that has been crushed and looking sympathetically at these things are not meaningless acts. In fact, we find ourselves in them. As long as we fill our stomachs with matter called food and burn matter to maintain a certain bodily and spiritual temperature, what is thrown away is full of light and matter in equal measure. Amid the bright universe of the alcohol lamp and a world structured to calculate the profits of tomorrow, a man sings almost mechanically, "magnesium aluminometasilicate, sodium bicarbonate, precipitated calcium carbonate, fennel, cinnamon, Japanese pepper, Chinese gold thread *et cetera*."
The stomach medicine of the city, burn it all with gasoline! Soaked in the stupor of asphalt, there is no other way to shine but with strong, living eyes.

Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Nihon (Japan)*. Tokyo: Shaken, 1967. Translated by Sandy Lin.

1 – Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (New York: Viking Press, 1957; reprint, New York: The New American Library, 1982), 89.
2 – T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1922), lines 60–65.
3 – Pierre Restany (1930–2003), French art critic who in 1960 coined the term *Nouveau réalisme* to categorize the work of younger European artists such as Yves Klein, Daniel Spoerri, and Jacques Villeglé.

22 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *Asphalt, Tokyo* – 1960 – Photograph

Tōmatsu Shōmei
"Nichiroku" (Diary [of 1967–68])

December 20
I live and work in Higashi Ōkubo, Shinjuku. Corp. Teiseki A-405, or in other words, the fourth floor of the building. I moved to this place in the spring, on April 5, to match my room number. I have been living here for eight and a half months. It is a six-mat, one-bedroom apartment with a dining room and kitchen, for 24,800 yen [approximately $250] a month. Because of the neighborhood, many of the apartment's residents work at hostess bars.[1]

View of building and parking lot (from window).

December 21
I am very busy now that I am one of the committee members organizing the exhibition *Shashin hyaku nen* (*100 Years of Photography).* Today, I paid a visit to the home of Fukuda Katsuji. I was accompanied by Taki Kōji and Nakahira Takuma. Mr. Fukuda showed his *Still-lives* in the first *Nihon shashin bijutsu dai ikkai ten* (First Japan Photographic Art Exhibition), sponsored by the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, in the thirteenth year of Taishō [1924], and received a nomination. He has been haunted by photography ever since, and has applied to many competitions. Since becoming a professional photographer, he has been active as a modern portraitist before and after the war, and left many a masterpiece. I asked him what kind of photographs he was presently interested in. On a tone closer to that of a young man than that of a seventy-year-old, he replied: "Eroticism in wonderland." He says that art is a fiction made with all of human knowledge.

Portrait of Mr. Fukuda.

December 22
The exhibition *100 Years of Photography* was commissioned by the Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai (Japan Professional Photographers Society – JPS), the editorial office of which is on Ginza Namiki-dōri. I go from Shinjuku to Ginza and back every day. Today too, I left home for Ginza. After turning the corner after the police station and walking for a while, I got to Yasukuni-dōri. Crossing there, I walked straight to Gyoen-mae subway station. Then I paused for a moment. The delicate branches of the weeping willow were illuminated from behind by the sun, glittering like threads of metal. This willow tree reminded me of the rain of incendiary bombs dropped in the Japanese skies by B-29s during the war.

The willow tree.

December 23
Borrowing photographs of the bombing of Nagasaki from G,T, SUN. The person who took this picture of a young man burnt to death in the hypocenter was the war photographer attached to the information services of the Western District Army, Yamahata Yōsuke. When I made *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961*, we were horrified by what we saw in the photographs of the bombing. The reality borne by these photographs was chilling to the bone, a feeling I can still remember vividly.

Photograph by Yamahata.

This is a valuable photograph taken by Matsushige Yoshito, a photographer who worked for the Chugoku Shimbun. In the book edited by Umeno Hyō and Tajima Sukehiro, *Genbaku dai 1-gō: Hiroshima no shashin kiroku*, he wrote: "In front of the Miyuki Bridge police station, you cannot tell the difference between men and women. They look like they came straight from hell, burnt hair and skin, backs and shoulders covered with swollen blisters. Among these people who hardly look like human beings, ten or so are groaning and crying. 'Gosh, what a dreadful thing they've done,' I said, taking the first picture. Somewhere in my mind, I can still remember how the finder was clouded with tears, as I pressed the shutter a second time, caught between exasperation and sadness."

Matsushige's photograph.

End-of-the-year party in the studio of Isozaki Arata. The participants are: Takiguchi Shūzō, Kimura Tsunehisa, Hara Hiroshi, Miyawaki Aiko, Yoshimura Masunobu, Tada Minami, Matsumoto Toshio, Ichiyanagi Toshi, Akiyama Kuniharu, Tōno Yoshiaki, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Nakahara Yūsuke, Katsui Mitsuo, Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, and Shinohara Ushio. A film that was part of the entertainment was projected on Isozaki's mask in an improvised performance. That is what this photograph is about.

Portrait of Isozaki with mask and projection.

December 24

Today is Christmas Eve. We take eight-year-old Izumi to Asakusa. The little boy is crazy about toys, mommy is into kimonos, and daddy is interested in the signs advertising for strip-clubs.
Daddy: "Do you know what Christmas is?"
The boy: "The birthday of Christ."
Daddy: "And Christ, what kind of person is that?"
The boy: "An American, always naked, who makes a sad face!"

Crowd of Americans and Japanese in Asakusa.

December 25

The US has made public China's seventh nuclear test. In front of the USO[2] office in Ginza, there is a crowd of soldiers on leave from Vietnam. The twenty-four-hour Christmas truce in Vietnam started last night at 6:00 p.m. (7:00 p.m. Japanese time). It is now 4:00 p.m. It turns out, then, if you calculate, that peace will only be preserved for three more hours. Even the truce which is a claim for peace has turned into an annual event.

Portrait of an American soldier in front of the USO office.

December 26

The number of deaths due to traffic accidents has reached its historical peak this year: 13,331. Diet member Sekiya [Katsutoshi, 1904–1987] was arrested in the scandalous taxicab affair. This year, there have been 8,000 fires in metropolitan Tokyo. The number of deaths this year in the Hiroshima hospital for victims of the nuclear bomb is 62. The monthly subscription fee for a color TV has been set at 465 yen, and 315 yen for a black-and-white set. The number of students and salarymen who will be spending the New Year abroad is about 13,000 (from the *Asahi Shimbun*).

Empty highway.

December 27

AM. Visited Suzuki Hachirō[3] and listened to him talk about the prewar photographic world. PM. Met with the students of the Tama School of Art. Worked on their graduation show. Chibita, Bonbon, Betokon, Kumagorō, Kaachan, Fujisantarō, Usagi, Odekochan, Sabaku, Jirō, Miyasama.[4] Average age: 21. I asked them about their schedule for the New Year, but nobody had plans.

Photographs and students on the tatami in a room of the institute.

December 28

People gathering in Coffee Garden at Yotsuya-sanchome, for the party given in honor of prizewinners Narahara Ikko, Yanagisawa Shin, Moriyama Daidō, and Takanashi Yutaka. Participants: (from upper right) Ishimoto Yasuhiro and his wife, Konishi Umihiko, Horiuchi Seiichi, Tatsuki Yoshihiro and his wife, Yokosuka Noriaki and his wife, Kawada Kikuji, Satō Akira, Takanashi Yutaka, Arita Taiji, Noda Masanobu, Ōtsuji Kiyoji, Azuma Mari, Yanagisawa Shin, Shinoyama Kishin, Sawatari Hajime, Narahara Ikko and his wife, Moriyama Daidō, Nakamura Masaya, Ōkura Shunji, Nagano Shigeichi, Fukase Masahisa, Yamagishi Shōji, and Miyamoto.

Several portraits of guests.

December 29

Every Friday, there is the regular meeting of the editors of JPS. From the left: Nakahira Takuma,

Morita Ichirō, Sekiya Isao (moderator), Kijima Takashi (general administration), Naitō Masatoshi, Taki Kōji, Suzuki Tsuneo, Hirano Hisashi, Ōuchi Tomoko (office assistant), Hamaya Hiroshi (chairman), Imai Hisae, and Mejima Keiichi. Other editorial members who could not come today were Kawakami Shigeharu, Inoue Seiryū, Matsumoto Norihiko, and Tsukahara Takuya.

Group portrait of JPS members.

December 30

Going to JPS through Shinbashi, as usual. At the square in front of Shinbashi station, I look at portraits. The man drawing these portraits based on faded old photographs is Murata Hōichiro. The price for an image to be displayed in an eight-tatami-mat room is 3,500 yen.[5] Originally, photography was invented and developed as a substitute for painted portraits. Looking at Mr. Murata's images, one is taken by a strange feeling.

Mr. Murata among his images.

December 31

Alcohol and tobacco are getting more expensive. The tuition fee for private universities is rising. The cost of public transportation is also rising. In the context of the dollar crisis following the "pound shock," next year we expect recession and high prices. Everything is getting more expensive. The only thing going down is trust for the Japanese government and America, caught up in Vietnam. Two more American soldiers have deserted. It is bitterly cold today.

Corner of a room with bookshelves, a guitar, and the legs of a dummy coming out of a basket.

January 1

When I was a child, hearing something about the New Year, I would wait impatiently and start to welcome it with "a new heart." But today's children, like Izumi, are completely indifferent to the New Year. It is just a day off school, with more pocket money. The castle of rice cakes is attacked by Gamera, Baragon, Red King, and a clique of Mollusca Ultramonsters.

Izumi with his castle of rice cakes and his monster toys.

January 2

Every year, during New Year's week, I make a point of taking a solitary trip somewhere, without any particular goal. This year, my destination is Otaru, in Hokkaido. In my rucksack, I took two cameras, three interchangeable lenses, twenty rolls of film, toiletry items, underwear, and ski shoes. I left Haneda Airport at 12:20 in a Boeing 727 flying at a height of 8,000 meters. When we flew over Sendai, a stewardess in a light blue suit with a short nose distributed sake cups with the company emblem and snacks, and served cold sake. Indeed, today is January 2. *Kanpai* to the sweet stewardess with a short nose! Drinking *toso* [New Year's drink] while looking down at the Hakkōda Mountains and Lake Towada, the taste of alcohol is something else. An hour after taking off, we already reached Hokkaido. The temperature in Chitose Airport is 4 degrees below zero [Celsius]. Takimoto—a student at the Tama School of Fine Arts—is back in Otaru for the break, so I give him a call immediately and we meet in a coffee shop in front of the station. I get a detailed map of Otaru and the guidebooks I had asked him to find, days ago, from Tokyo; I have a quick look at these and start planning my schedule from tomorrow on.

Arrival at the airport.

January 3

There is a 49-cm layer of snow. After beautiful weather come the clouds, then the rain, then fine weather, then snow, then it's fine again, then more snow. The weather in a single day is as fickle as the eyes of a cat. Otaru is a town of warehouses. Nagasaki + Yokohama ÷ Osaka = Otaru. I am madly in love with the atmosphere of this kind of town.

Two views of Otaru in the snow.

January 4

The harbor is Otaru's life. Originally, as Hokkaido's front door, Otaru flourished as a warehouse for all sorts of goods: "the city of Otaru is sadness, sadness in people's voices as they forget how to sing." (Ishikawa Takuboku).[6] New things were prompted by the "herring boom."[7] Now, however, very few people visit this "herring palace." The decoration on the sides of boats still offers a glimpse of the boom.

Carved decoration of a boat with lion and peony.

In the thirteenth year of Meiji [1880], the first railroad in Hokkaido was laid between Otaru and Sapporo. After Shinbashi–Yokohama and Kobe–Osaka, it was the third line launched in Japan, an event with which the era of Hokkaido's historical development began. The locomotive and cars were imported from America, and the cars were named after [mythical heroes] Yoshitsune and Benkei. An interesting symbol of Japan's culture of importation.

Silhouette of a train in the snow.

January 5

I am going to Bikuni Harbor on the Shakotan Peninsula. The fishing harbor became famous thanks to the song, "Sōran Bushi."[8] Bikuni [beautiful country] is a good name. During World War II, a seriously injured young American GI died mumbling to the Italian farmer who was nursing him: "I can never thank you enough. I ... I want to give you what is most precious to me. The light, water, and greenery of my ... my home in Texas ..."

Seagulls on the beach.

In Vietnam last year, 9,353 GIs and 87,534 Vietnamese died in the war. They added to the innumerable list of victims who died in vain on the battlefields, without a partner to whom they could give the light, water, and greenery of their homelands. Today, the newspapers reported on America's advance notification of the impending arrival of the nuclear carrier *Enterprise,* expected in Sasebo on the seventeenth or the eighteenth.

Ocean view.

January 6

The watch tower of Otaru's eighth fire brigade, built around Taishō 3 [1914]. The municipality was organized in Taishō 11 [1922]. From around that time, until the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War, in Showa 12 [1937], Otaru had its golden age. Otaru today does not have its former vigor. Only the buildings built during Meiji and Taishō eras stand like vestiges of the days of prosperity. Tomorrow, I have to return to Tokyo.

The watchtower.

January 7

In Sapporo, I get on the bus for Chitose Airport. From the window, I put an end to my trip through Hokkaido with my camera. I go back to Tokyo on the 12:10 All Nippon Airways flight. From the end of last year to the beginning of this year alone, All Nippon Airways has had a series of five accidents. No matter how many times I take them, I just can't get used to airplanes.

Forest and snow.

January 8

Some more soldiers fled in Vietnam. American GIs, go ahead and run away ... "Welcome to the good bed of heaven, the alcohol is sweet and the girls are pretty, wah wah wah wah, I died, I died, and I have come back to life." ("The Drunkard Came Home" [1967 hit song in Japan] by the Fork Crusaders).

Subway entrance and cardboard cutouts, used for film promotion, that appear threatening.

January 9

Seeing an underground nude show in the Little Experimental Theater, a.k.a. the Cellar of the Tactilists.[9] According to the producer, it is about investing the nude with—and making it an expression of—people's agony in this age of mechanization as well as their distrust of politics. Had I shown this to the [Japanese] Self-Defense Force member and marathon runner Tsuburaya Kōkichi, he would have probably been dissuaded from committing suicide.

Underground nude.

January 10

I am still commuting from Shinjuku (home) to Ginza (the executive office of the *100 Years of Photography* exhibition). According to the statistics, last year, traffic accidents occurred every sixty-one seconds, caused injury every forty-nine seconds, and a death every thirty-nine minutes. "A left-over flower in Shinjuku, a flower of the night even when in love, a short-lived flower of tears in any case, a flower floating through nighttime Shinjuku." ("Shinjuku Blues," lyrics by Takiguchi Teruko).

Shinbashi traffic.

January 11

Looking at the buildings near the west entrance of Shinjuku station, from the former site of the Yodobashi water purification plant. Right now, the Sub-center Construction Public Cooperation is building streets, gardens, homes, and squares. Soon, high-rise construction will be lining up, making the area a business center for a daytime population of about three hundred thousand. Tokyo is the epitome of a Japan where countryside and city mix together, and Shinjuku itself becomes the epitome of Tokyo.

Construction site.

January 12

It has been exactly one year since the exhibition committee for *100 Years of Photography* came together and started working on this project. Many books are dedicated to the history of photography, especially if one counts books that have been translated [into Japanese], but too few of them are about the history of Japanese photography. The work that we, JPS members, are dedicated to consists in plunging our hands into the black box of the history of photography, digging up the achievements of our predecessors, filling the hole in history, and inheriting their spirit. Our present selection already amounts to thirty thousand photographs. Two thousand of these will be selected and shown in the upcoming exhibition in a department store in Ikebukuro on June 1, the "day of photography."

JPS is a professional organization running on fees from slightly fewer than five hundred members. So even if, this time, we have been able to gather and edit the material for the exhibition, we cannot provide a proper place to preserve this data, not to mention continuing to dig for new material. If things remain neglected, there is the fear that precious material will be scattered and lost. I hear that, in America and Europe, the collecting of photographs is pursued, and that this material is gathered in proper museums. Japan is the kingdom of photography. Isn't it really strange then that in our country there isn't a single museum generally dedicated to photography?

Photomontage of 1,700 babies younger than fifteen months, Meiji 26 [1893], *by Ezaki Reiji.*

January 13

Nikon Salon opened in front of Ginza Matsuya—opening of the show *Kimura Ihei no me* [*The Eye of Kimura Ihei*]. My photograph shows, from left to right, Tamura Shigeru, Watanabe Yoshio, and Matsuoka Yōko. For us, Kimura pioneered the second generation in the history of Japanese photography. A sharp documentary eye shines deeply inside his gentle demeanor.

Guests at the opening.

January 14

A former tax controller defrauded an entrepreneur of his property and ran away with 23.4 million yen. A police investigator ran over a young child with a small van and failed to report it. Sanpa Zengakuren[10] had its first great demonstration in Tokyo. Burglaries follow one after another in the city. In the scandalous taxicab affair, the fourth Chief of the District Land Transport Bureau of Osaka was summoned by the district attorney. The police are launching a wide search for "missing persons" (*Asahi Shimbun*).

The students of Chuo University have launched a strike in protest against dramatic rises in tuition. It seems that university applications have reached a historical peak. Just imagining the scene of the parade of honor students educated in the art of passing entrance exams is quite scary. The newspaper explains how, in Sasebo, an unprecedented police operation was set up in preparation for the student demonstration.

Crowd of youths.

January 15

Today is Coming of Age Day. The Tokyo city government is hosting a "Gathering of Youths" at the Tokyo Bunka Kaikan, Ueno. Across the country, 2,360,000 people are turning twenty years old. I would like to wish them the best. But in Vietnam, the same twenty-year-olds are being injured and killed in an irrational war. So I can't just say "congratulations." I would actually rather ask these 2,360,000 young Japanese to put on their mourning clothes. Today, in front of the [nuclear carrier] *Enterprise* depot in Sasebo, some twenty-year-olds from Zengakuren [The All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government] confronted some twenty-year-olds from the police mobile troops, and were arrested. The third car of the 10:30 a.m. Unzen–Saikai express train is full of students who have escaped from the hands of the mobile troops.

Young woman in traditional clothes for Coming of Age Day; students on the 10:30 a.m. express train.

January 16

My birthday. Bought a twenty-yen fortune from a street vendor in Shinjuku. "Love: 89 points, intellect: 91 points, flaw: worries for nothing, good point: kindness, romance: currently not very exciting, financial advice: not hopeful."

The student protests for the Social Democrats and the Structural Reform faction ended in Ginza. Students from everywhere kept flowing into Sasebo. Five thousand eight hundred members of the mobile troops have been mobilized to stop them. Two hundred and seventy vehicles are being used: water cannon vehicles, armored vehicles, vehicles of identification, escort vehicles, patrol cars. One thousand tear gas canisters and three thousand eight hundred shields were prepared.

The fortuneteller in Shinjuku; the protests.

January 17

On Wednesdays I teach at the Tokyo Zokei University. The course I teach is an introduction to photography. The total number of photography and graphic design majors is forty-nine. The school is hidden in Mount Takao, and maybe for this reason, the fact is that students are taking it easy.

Woods.

Listening to explanations about the new Arriflex camera that has just arrived. The professors gathered here are Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Matsumoto Toshio, Katsui Mitsuo, Narahara Ikko, and Hatano Tetsurō. Among the photography majors, some students may be potential Godards and Alain Resnais.

Professors gathered around the camera.

January 18

I was asked by Iwanami Film Production Company to produce photographs for a PR film, and last night I came to the Akita plant of TDK, a maker of electronic material. Directly behind the factory is the mad and stormy Sea of Japan in winter. Furious waves are dashing against the seawall.

The riot troops are pushing back the Sanpa students who are genuinely confronting authority. A rain of nightsticks, kicks, and pushes... . Students' faces stained with blood ... here is what the journalist Iwadare from the *Asahi Shimbun* wrote about yesterday's confrontation in Sasebo: "The riot troops poured on us in an instant, like a black wave, and suddenly they were right before my eyes. Hoping to take refuge in the city hospital, some citizens rushed toward the entrance. Those who couldn't get to safety fast enough were beaten. Those who tried to get up and escape were beaten again. Since these were ordinary citizens, they had neither wooden staves nor helmets. People crouching, holding their head in both hands. Even then, the police were beating them. Kicking them with their shoes. A citizen who came out of his shelter was pushed against the hospital wall and beaten again and again. Nightsticks fell on a man who was crouching and unable to move. 'I am a journalist from *Asahi Shimbun*,' I said. Whether they heard it or not, the rain of blows didn't stop. The helmet I was given went flying. I held my head in both hands. Maybe I am going to die, I thought. The top of my head was hit, I remember, four or five times."

Ninety-two people were injured. A formal notification arrived from America. The nuclear carrier *Enterprise* will arrive in the harbor tomorrow morning.

The Sea of Japan.

January 19

Today, the sea is still very agitated. The nuclear carrier *Enterprise* sailed into Sasebo harbor. The American government is confident that the demonstrations will calm down if they keep the carrier docked at the harbor, and the chairman of the Japanese National Public Safety Commission announced that he "firmly believed that, generally speaking, there had been no police blunder."

I went to Sasebo when I was working on my series *Senryō* [Occupation]. At that time, in a red-light district, I saw an old woman with an unusual demeanor. She was showing a pass case made out of celluloid to an American soldier, holding out her hand silently in front of him. In her pass case, the following words were typed in English. "My family was killed in the bombing of Nagasaki. But the government is not taking care of me. Only your deeply merciful heart can help me. Could you give me a little bit of money?"

Afterword

I ended this diary on January 19 of Showa 43 [1968]. But the world's time hasn't stopped ticking away. After four days in the harbor, the nuclear carrier *Enterprise* has turned toward the Vietnamese sea and sailed away. On the next day, the [crew of the] American information warship *Pueblo* was arrested by the North Korean police on the grounds of aggression after entering Korean territorial waters. *Enterprise* and its escort immediately changed direction and faced the Korean peninsula. Realizing the gravity of the situation, [US] President Johnson asked reservists to mobilize and, at the same time, he asked an emergency UN Security Council to be summoned. At the entrance to the Japanese sea, *Enterprise* is ready for battle. The movements of the nuclear carrier are closely observed by the Soviet warships positioned right across from it. The Japanese sea is covered with a black, evil cloud. There is no end to the photographic eye recording the world. We have to capture the convulsive daily reality of Japan without fail. Photography is, in its essential definition, a document. Photography cuts through the flow of time. The fragment of time sliced by the camera becomes the past at the very instant and, as an accumulation of instants, photography becomes a copy of history. If photography is able to be useful to people over different eras, then I will gladly become a photographer as an anonymous reporter.

The personal records I have been making for a month are only a fragment of my experiences. For instance, let's say that I sleep 6 hours a day, so I can photograph for 18 hours every day, that is 64,800 seconds. Let's say that a photograph is taken in 1/1000 of a second. Then the amount of time carried by this photograph is 1/64,800,000 of a day. The amount of time carried by one photograph is quite insignificant. But this is only a mechanical calculation based on amounts of time. In fact, the instant when I press the shutter, the subject matter is exposed to the entire

duration of time that I have lived. Therefore, one photograph is both a fragment of my experiences and an aggregation of all of my experiences. This is probably obvious, but without camera and film, the photographer cannot record the events taking place before him. He cannot write according to records like literature. Therefore the diary-photographer has to walk with his camera permanently attached to his body. And he must always stay awake. Because it is not the case that the camera will do him the favor of automatically recording whatever happens before him. In the constant tension created by the selection of his subject matter, the photographer has to be quick in his mechanical manipulations. The conscious act of photographing is both extremely stressful and exhausting. Perceptive nerves and motor nerves are being fully mobilized.

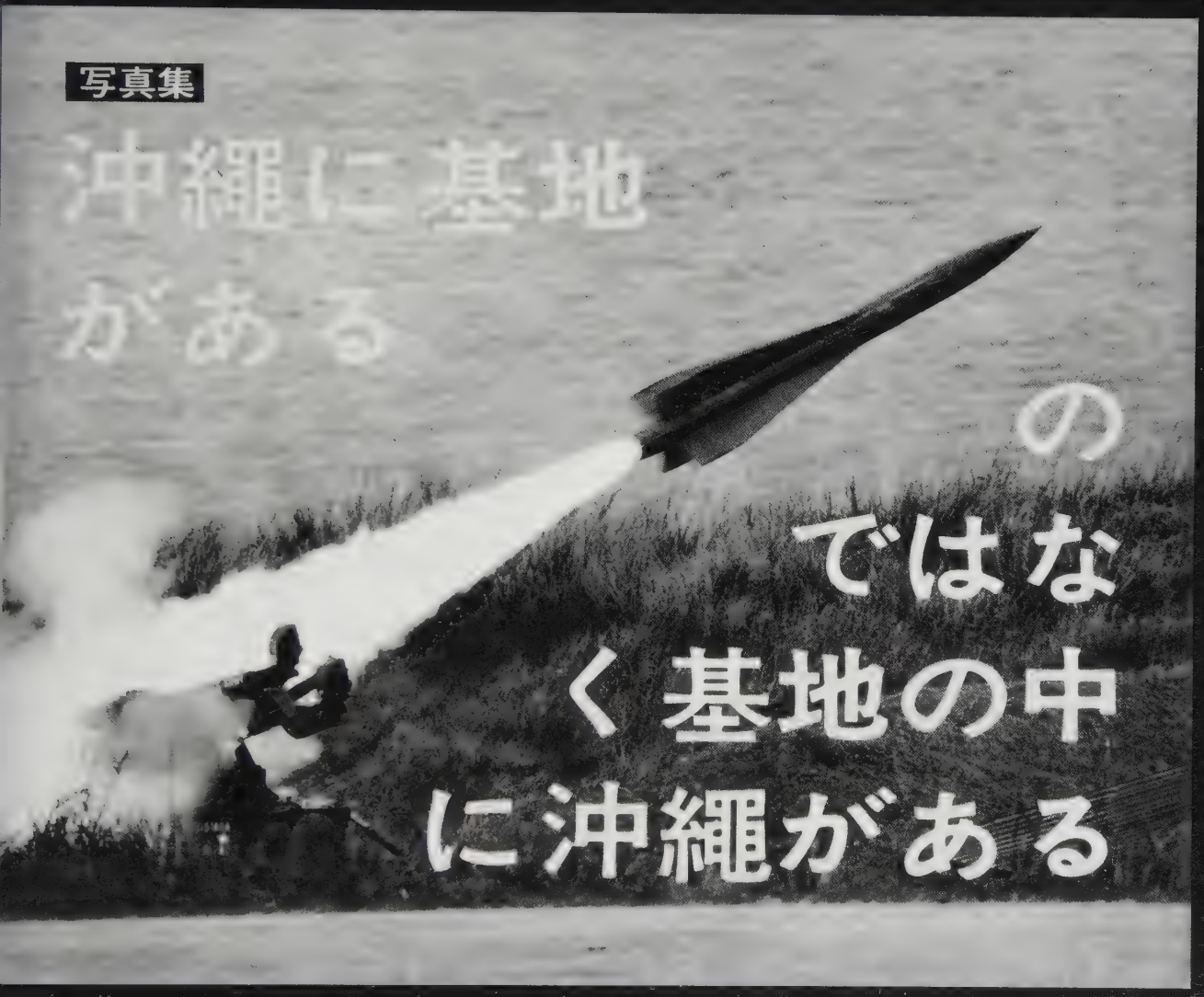
In that kind of moment, I dream of a camera and film that would be directly connected to the human cerebral cortex. This new type of camera would be no bigger than a pair of glasses and as light as a hat. When I carried it on my body, it would be a shame if it became a burden. Since this new type of camera would be connected to perceptive nerves and motor nerves, the photographer would only have to think of taking a photograph and, without a move of the hand, things like the shutter speed, aperture, and focus would be operated at electric speed. One could zoom through one's field of vision from a super-wide angle to a super telephoto zoom. As for the film, it would of course automatically allow you to take as many as one thousand photographs without needing to reload. It would be both black-and-white and color; black-and-white would respond to the condition of the retinal rods and color to the retinal cones. There is also always the question of the date, time, and place where a photograph was taken. So it would be good if the date and time were automatically inscribed on the side of the film. Even if inscribing place seems quite impossible,

the time and date could be inscribed according to a calendar and clock system. With this new type of camera firmly attached to my body, I would shoot, shoot, shoot ... As for the photographs to be made using this process, I would call them "homography."

***I Am a King*. Tokyo: Shashin Hyōron-sha, 1972. Translated by Fabienne Delpy, revised by Sandy Lin and Lena Fritsch.**

1 – Hostess bars are a form of Japanese nighttime entertainment in which customers can drink and talk with female staff.
2 – The United Service Organizations, established by the United States Congress in 1941 to entertain and serve American troops stationed overseas.
3 – Suzuki Hachirō (1900–1985) was a photographer, photography critic, and editor.
4 – Fairly common student nicknames.
5 – Japanese living spaces are measured by the size of their tatami or (traditionally) rice-straw mats. In the Tokyo area, a standard mat measures around 90 × 175 cm.
6 – Ishikawa Takuboku (poet, 1886–1912).
7 – Otaru provided herring to the rest of Japan, used mainly for fertilizer in rice fields. As Hokkaido's people were thus contributing to the country's production of rice, they could at last become "valuable imperial subjects."
8 – "Sōran Bushi" is one of the most widely known traditional Japanese songs, said to have originated in the Shakotan Peninsula.
9 – *Shokkaku-ha no anagura* [Cellar of the Tactilists] was the nickname for the avant-garde theater *Modan āto jikken shōgekijo* [Modern Art: Little Experimental Theater], which opened in 1967 in Shinjuku.
10 – Confederation of three radical student leagues.

定価 960円


写真集
沖縄に基地
がある
のではなく基地の中に沖縄がある

米空軍基地に隣接している嘉手納村は、昼夜たえまなく襲うターボジェット・エンジンの調整音に悩まされている。その音量は 100 ホンを越えるというから話にならない。「ドラムカンに入れられ、大ハンマーで乱打されているみたい」という村民の表現は少しもオーバーでない。基地災害は爆音だけにとどまらない。基地から流れだした航空燃料や廃油で井戸水が汚染され飲めなくなっている。

離陸に失敗したB52が　嘉手納村から 500メートルのところに墜落爆発した事件は耳新しい。B52が爆発した場所は、核が貯蔵されているとうわさに高い塀の弾薬庫近くであった。一瞬　沖縄の全県民は　恐怖のどん底にたたき落された。B52の墜落事件はこれまでの基地災害とはレベルが違う。住民がいだいていた不安は　突如として恐怖に変ったのである。

書籍コード　1036―07001―3117

400円

写真集
沖縄
《百万県民の苦悩と抵抗》

沖縄革新共闘会議／編　新時代社

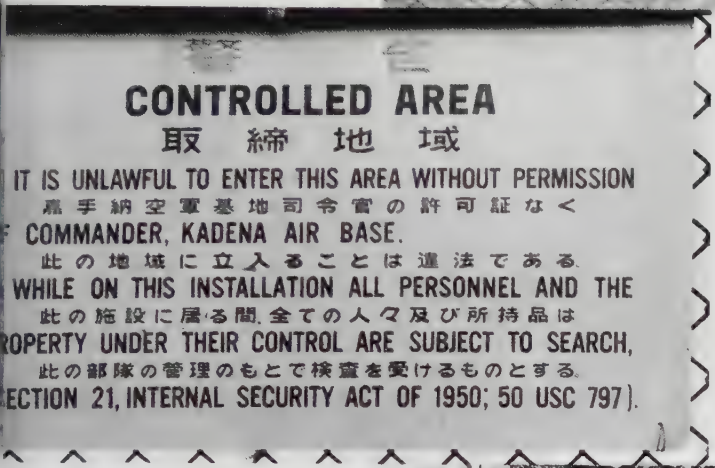
読谷村の射撃演習場。

海軍基地ホワイトビーチ。施設が多すぎるので、まとめて表示してある。

本島北部久志村の海軍弾薬貯蔵地域。民間車両の停車禁止は最高の機密である。たぶん核兵器の存在を意味する。

軍用道路1号線ぞいの米陸軍第2兵站部隊。

沖縄は金網と警告板の島だ。いたるところにCaution, Warning, Danger, Off limitsといった標識がある。県民は金網の"外側"に閉じこめられているのだ。



上　宜野湾市の米人小学校。"教育を守るために"軍用犬がいる。
左　米軍も近ごろは立入禁止の法的根拠（米軍の布告・布令など）を示すほど親切になった。

本島中部勝連村のミサイル基地入口。

米軍当局が将兵の立入りを禁止する地域もある。これは那覇市の"不衛生な"売春地帯。

沖縄の米軍基地

〔注〕Ⅰ①在沖陸軍司令部、戦略通信部隊沖縄シグナル・グループ、太平洋情報学校、第30砲兵旅団司令部、第1憲兵グループ、第1特殊部隊パラシュート訓練学校。

②陸軍沖縄医療センター、琉球人警備隊本部。

③第313空軍師団司令部、第18戦術戦闘機連隊、第400弾薬整備大隊、第1962通信グループ、第42戦略航空団、第603軍事空輸支援大隊、太平洋航空救難学校、陸軍アジア特殊活動軍本部。

④海兵隊西太平洋通過施設、第9水陸両用旅団本部、第3役務連隊重車両修理所。

⑤陸軍第2兵站部隊司令部、第7心理作戦グループ本部、医療センター医薬品貯蔵所、太平洋兵站活動中枢機関（PALOS)、太平洋兵器計測機関。

⑥防空管制センター（ADCC)、第51迎撃戦闘機連隊、第374戦術空輸連隊、第33航空宇宙救難回収大隊、在沖艦隊活動司令部、第7艦隊第72機動部隊、海軍那覇航空施設。

II　A＝陸軍、N＝海軍、AF＝空軍、M＝海兵隊

III　離島およびごく小規模の軍用地は省略した。離島では渡嘉敷島、久米島、宮古島、渡名喜島、西表島、浮原島、津堅島などにレーダー、ミサイルなどの基地や訓練場がある。また沖大東（ラサ）島と鳥島は全島が軍用地である。宮古島と石垣島には宮古、八重山各米民政府が置かれ、前者には治岸警備隊の通信基地も設けられている。

OKINAWA 1961 ~ 1970

photos by T. KURIHARA

780円

写真報告 オキナワ 1961～1970

栗原達男

朝日新聞社

26 – Kurihara Tatsuo – *Okinawa 1961 – 1970: Photoreportage* – 1970 – Book

両親の間で寝ているのは生後2カ月目の混血（沖縄では"あいの子"のほうが良い言葉という）の赤ちゃん。本土ではすでに過去となったことがここでは現在進行形である

那覇のジャス喫茶によく黒人兵が来る。ビートルズのポスターの下に4人の兵隊がすわっていた

135

"沖縄の中のアメリカ"をリードする最高首脳。米国民政府"USCAR"の局長会議。正面左の軍服姿がランパート高等弁務官であり、その右がフィアリー民政官である。報道官は「世界初めての撮影許可」を強調した

79

米陸軍第一特殊部隊"グリーン・ベレー"もここを拠点とし、標識に
あるとおりアルジェリア以下どこへでも出動する態勢をとっている。

米兵は刺繍が好き！　"タナン・チュライ・クサン"ベトナム戦争の血ぬられた激戦地名がスラリと書かれている

NON

27 – Takuma Akio, Iida Takao et al. – *Non* Vol. 2: *Okinawa is a Bitter World* – 1970 – Magazine

UBE

北伐

4·28
沖繩
斗爭

28 – *4.28 Okinawa Struggle* – 1969 – Poster

29 – Hamaguchi Takashi – *Okinawa Day, Ochanomizu, April 28, 1969* – 1969 – Photograph

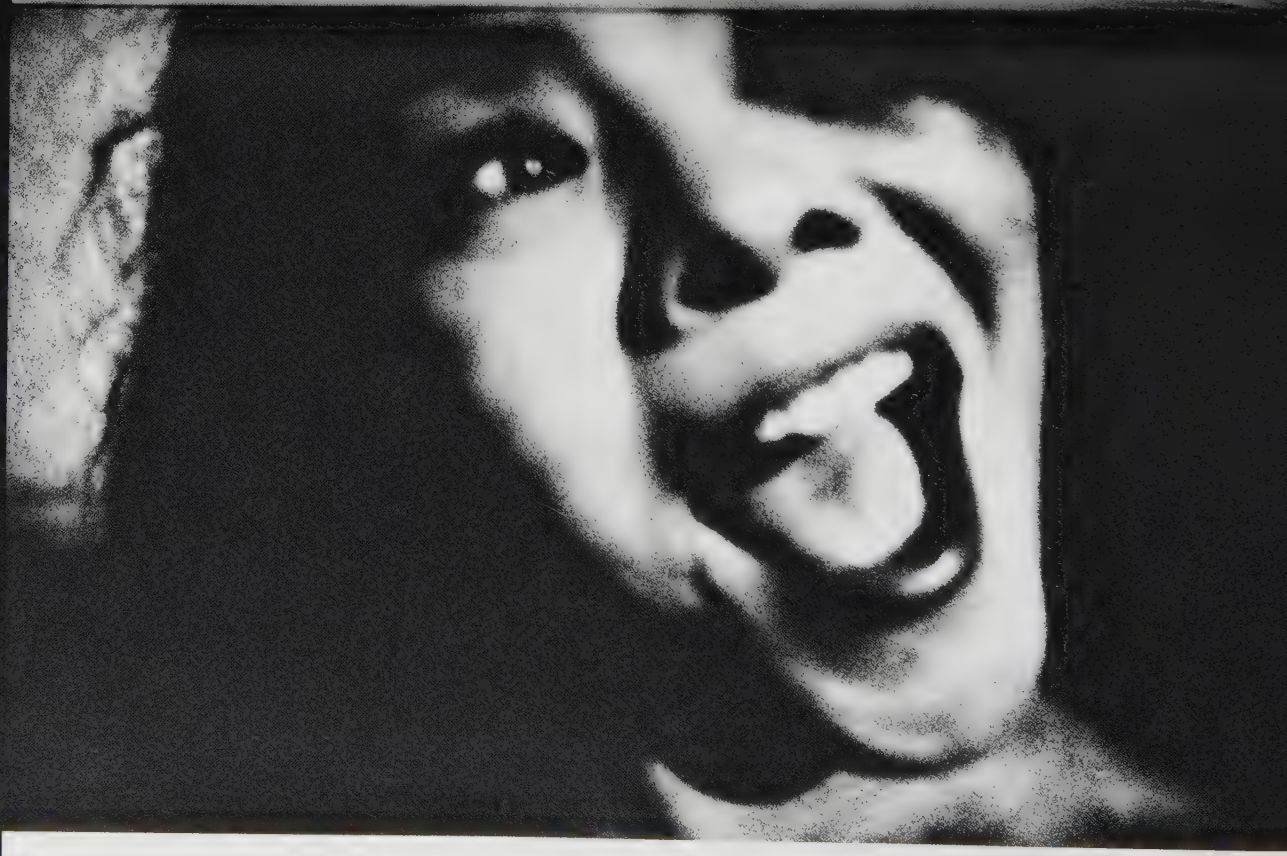
あつく長
長浜治沖縄写真

い夜の島

/文・東峰夫(作家)

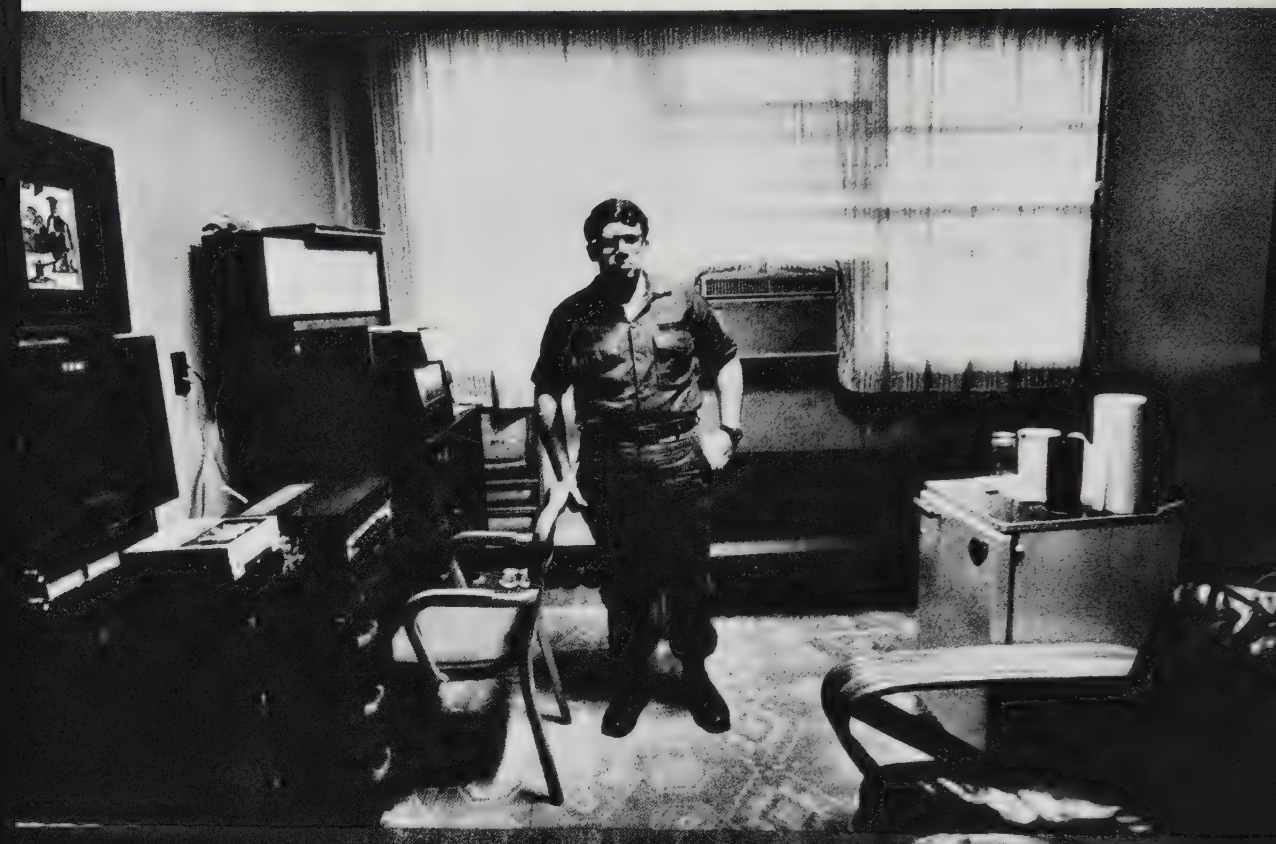
U.S. ARMY

……吉原



この真演習場

ベトコン狩り　完全武装演習中



BOOM

北井一夫写真集

三里塚

空港

32 – Kitai Kazuo – *Iwasawa Family*, from the series *Sanrizuka* – 1970 – Photograph

33 – Kitai Kazuo – *Lookout Post*, from the series *Sanrizuka* – 1971 – Photograph

34 – Kitai Kazuo – *Farmer Protesters and Riot Police*, from the series *Sanrizuka* – 1971 – Photograph

35 – Kitai Kazuo – *Female Farmer Taking a Stand Against the Riot Police Water Cannon*, from the series *Sanrizuka* – 1970 – Photograph

36 – Kitai Kazuo – *The day of Forcible Eviction,* from the series *Sanrizuka* – 1971 – Photograph

1200円

写真集

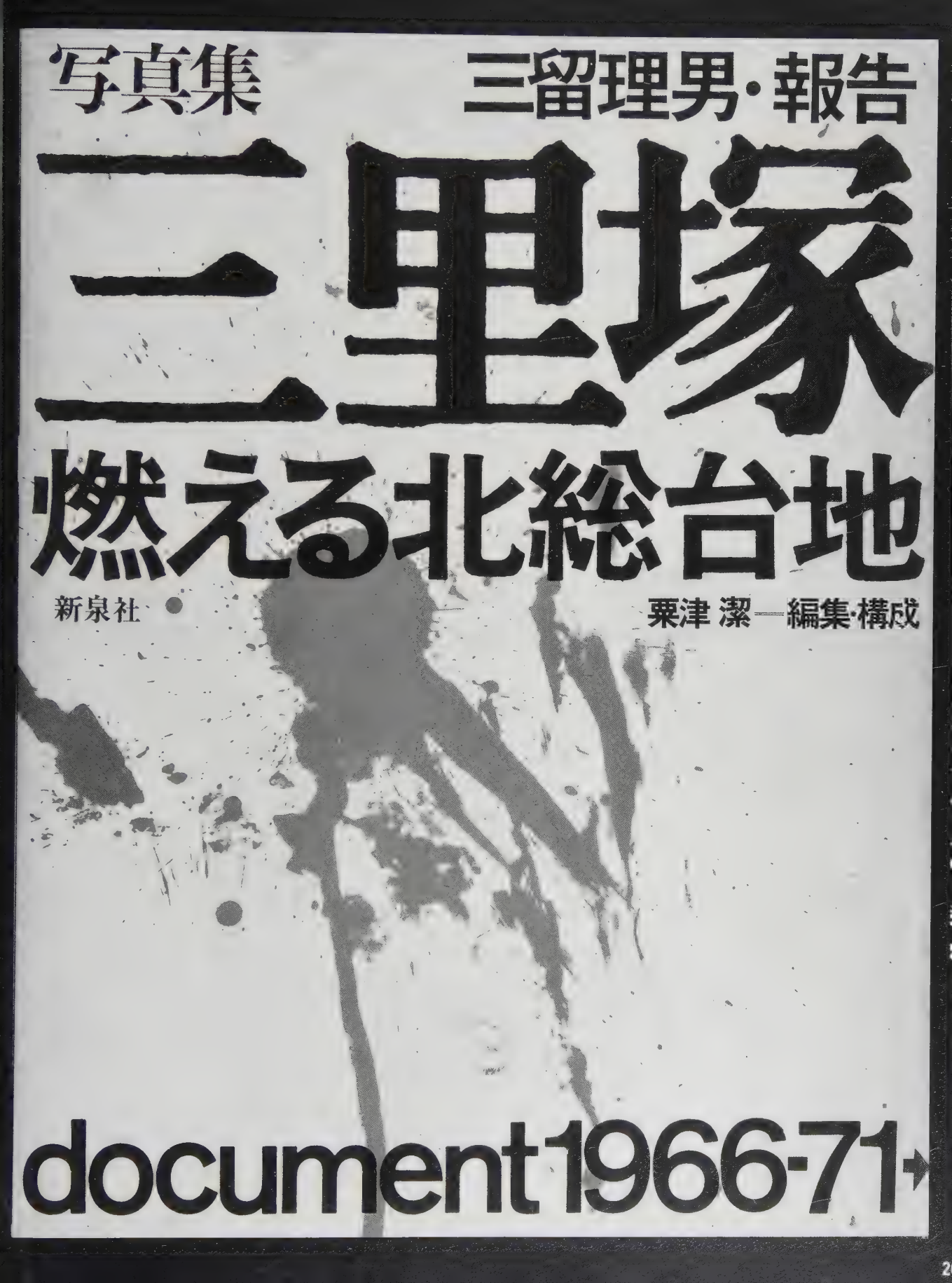
三留理男・報告

二里塚

燃える北総台地

新泉社

粟津 潔—編集・構成



document 1966-71

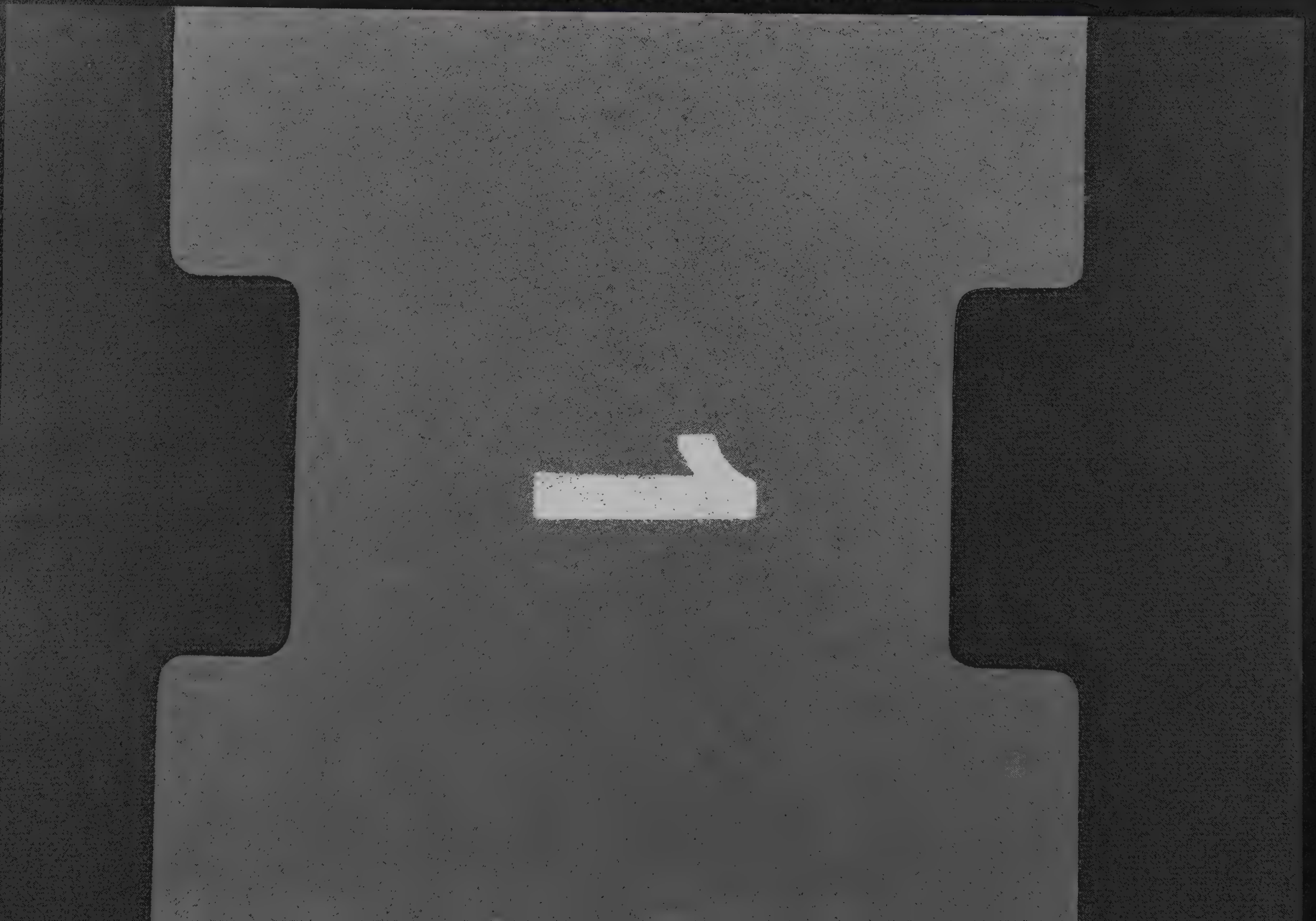
20

39 – Unknown – Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport – c. 1969 – Photograph

21

41 – Unknown – Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport – c. 1969 – Photograph

44 – Sanrizuka Photography Association, *Untitled* – c. 1978 – Book



2

そうかそりゃあ面白え
股あひろげて待つてべえや
さあ此所え突っ込め
なあにぐずぐずしてつだよう
突っ込んでみろほら

わあっと笑う　おつかあ部隊
春の日ざしはドギマギと降る

辺田部落　石井英祐

おつかあ部隊

おい機動隊のあんちゃん
おめえらのなかには　百姓の息子も
いつだっぺ
三里塚のほうきり
でしゃばりやがってな
百姓らあをいじめ
畑をふんずけたり
おめえの親らは泣いてつど

北総台地1971を出版する会　編集・構成　岩渕一英・大塚憲治　¥3
PRINTING-SAIUN

それは1971年三里塚の記録であるとともに
私達の撮影行動の記録である。

北総台地1971

TOWARDS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND ORGANIZED REVOLUTIONARY VIOLECE

プロレタリア国際主義と組織された暴力を

نحو البروليتارية العالمية والعنف الثوري المنظم

日本赤軍

الجيش الأحمر الياباني

THE JAPANESE RED ARMY

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隊伍を整えよ！

——日本赤軍宣言——

IRF・IC+VISA共同編集

الجَيش الأحمَر اليَابَاني

THE JAPANESE RED ARMY

The Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine

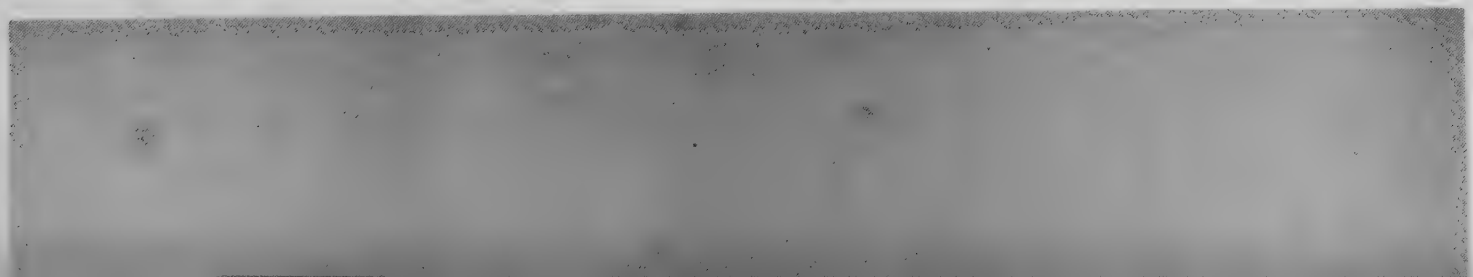
3RD ANNIVERSARY OF TEL .AVIV OPERATION **1972**

الذكرى الثالثة لشهداء عَمَليَّة تل أبيب ١٩٧٢

TOWARDS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND ORGANIZED REVOLUTIONARY VIOLECE

نحو البروليتارية العالمية والعنف الثوري المنظم

プロレタリア国際主義と組織された暴力を



THE STRUGGLE GO

ON !

PHOTOGRAPHY, PROTEST, AND CONSTITUENT POWER IN JAPAN, 1960–1975

Duncan Forbes

> *I was dragged back to the road where we had been photographing when they grabbed my head and both hands. At this time, I protested, "Why are you using this kind of violence? Tell us exactly why, please!" The plainclothes police said, "Aren't you disturbing the execution of public affairs? Eh?" I replied, "We didn't throw rocks. We only photographed what was going on." And three plainclothes police shouted "What? Aren't you always making movies with the Hantai Dōmei? You have to do things from an objective position. You've gotta shoot from an objective position." [As they spoke they were] shoving my body and hitting my arm with metal batons. Since the reason for this violence was not at all clear I said, "Who can judge objectivity and what standards to use violence?" And as I said this, about 70–80 riot police came from the road and one of them said, "Shut the fuck up! Don't talk dirty, you bastard!" and I was punched in the face, thrown against a fence, and kicked repeatedly around my knees. Then four or five riot police behind this one also took advantage of the situation and continued punching my face and hitting my arms. Throughout this I was protesting, "Why are you using this kind of violence on us? Please tell us why." However, they gave no reason, and then my hands were held by three plainclothes policemen and a mug shot was taken of my face.*
>
> Matsumoto Takeaki, court affidavit, 1968 [1]

This vivid testimony, filed from prison by the film director, Matsumoto Takeaki, reveals what was at stake when photographers and filmmakers directly confronted state power in Japan during the 1960s and early 1970s. Citizen protests—in this case against the building of the Narita airport outside Tokyo—were complex manifestations, involving innovative forms of grassroots political alliance, often violent confrontations with police over rural or urban space, as well as a struggle to redefine the character of representation itself. I use the term representation here in two senses. First, in the way that protesting bodies—students, workers, farmers, trade unions—chose to constitute their collective agency outside of traditional party or institutional structures, particularly in forms of horizontal activism historically associated with the New Left. This included forging new spaces of representation, most obviously public protests, in which collective allegiances could be recognized and demands inscribed. Second, and more specifically, in the sense of how those struggles were represented visually through photography and film, above all in an attempt to consolidate symbolic attachments. As Matsumoto's affidavit reveals, both senses of representation were deeply intertwined, involving disputes over the possibility (or otherwise) of objectivity, the nature of political power, and the uses of violence. Both sides understood the significance of this circuit of representation only too well. For the protesters, photographic media offered the possibility of rebellious self-determination aimed at disseminating information and encouraging further mobilization. For the police, protest photography was an aberration and a profound challenge to established order.

In what follows I want to focus on Japanese protest photography books printed between 1960 and 1975, a period of intense production deeply embedded in the oppositional politics of the time. There may be as many as eighty of these books (I have seen about sixty) and they are diverse in their production: made by artist-photographers, students (in particular those connected to the All-Japan Students' Photo Association), trade unionists, and professional photojournalists. Sometimes they were carefully designed and distributed by established publishing houses, although they were mostly quickly edited and printed on cheap paper. Often self-funded by political groups or individuals, the books were circulated through small, left-wing bookstores or social movement networks; they were rarely mass-produced. My account is by no means definitive, but I do want to provide a framework that takes us beyond the facile description of the protest book mainly as an exemplary moment in the history of photography.[2] It is important, too, that the protest photography book is not considered in isolation. During the

1 – Quoted in Abé Mark Nornes, *Forest of Pressure: Ogawa Shinsuke and Postwar Japanese Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 66–67.

2 – The Japanese protest photography book is significantly a collectors' fetish. See in particular Martin Parr and Gerry Badger, *The Photobook: A History Volume III* (London: Phaidon Press, 2014), 42–73, and Martin Parr (ed.) with Gerry Badger, *The Protest Box*, (Göttingen: Steidl, 2010). Their understanding of protest—as an expression of postwar liberal individualism—is largely antagonistic to the form and politics of most of the Japanese protest books they describe.

1960s Japan was becoming a highly mediatized society, above all through the rise of television, resulting in a rapidly changing experience of urban space and time. Protest photography and the emergence of Provoke need to be understood in the context of the growing power of mass-mediated politics in increasingly media-saturated urban environments.

Following Antonio Negri, I want to analyze the Japanese protest book as a symptom of a new wave of "constituent power" that formed in opposition to the signing of a revised Security Treaty between the United States and Japan in May–June 1960, known in Japan as Anpo. The Anpo protests saw the mobilization of millions on the streets of Tokyo and massive strikes organized by trade unions, generating fears in Washington of revolution in East Asia. Anpo crystallized a range of burning issues, particularly Japan's tacit support for American imperialist wars in Asia, the impact of American-sponsored modernization, as well as the health of the nation's postwar democratic settlement under occupation. But despite the unprecedented scale of popular mobilization, the protests quickly subsided, revealing some of the major opposition parties—especially the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP)—to be a quiescent bloc in support of the parliamentary state. Their failure to oppose the rushed signing of the Treaty called into question the effectiveness of postwar progressivism, in stark contrast to the sometimes violent resistance of the Zengakuren (the All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government). Despite their scope, the Anpo protests in fact ushered in the fragmentation of political opposition in Japan, notably the end of the parliamentary united front and the rise of a range of non-aligned, sometimes revolutionary, counterpublics.[3]

My argument here is that the failure of the Anpo protests unleashed a wave of constituent power in Japan and that the protest book is its vital and highly effective visual expression. For Negri, constituent power is the radical self-organization of society, "the motor or cardinal expression of democratic revolution." It erupts periodically through history as people take their destiny into their own hands to carve out more egalitarian forms of rule in opposition to tyrannical government. Constituent power is the emergence of absolute democracy in explosive form. It is foundational, "a force that bursts apart, breaks, interrupts, unhinges any preexisting equilibrium and any possible continuity." It often takes the form of decentralized or horizontal activism, fostering modes of organization that break decisively with already constituted power. Constituent power is the initial, material manifestation of a longed-for new constitutional order. As such it expresses a dynamism and immediacy that is distinctive, "taking part in all the mechanisms—at times, extremely violent—that pulsate in the democratic revolution, vibrating between the one and the many, between power and multitude, in a very fast, often spasmodic rhythm."[4]

Negri's concept of constituent power is contested and its mechanics are impossible to engage with in detail here, but it does allow us to conceive of the protest book as a revolutionary force, a visual articulation of the process of political becoming. It explains its sudden emergence, an "absolute mutation" that breaks with—or simply ignores—the traditions of photographic realism in Japan debated extensively during the 1950s.[5] This is scarcely surprising: the strategies of insurgent self-representation adopted by protesters had little to do with the sentimental, often voyeuristic nationalist populism of Domon Ken and his followers. It explains, too, the implacable opposition to the iconography of the powerful expressed in Japanese protest books and the visceral attraction to violent confrontation with the state, as well as hostility to the mass media. There is a performative aspect to these books which is also constative, a visual statement, often highly inventive, of a new power of government coming into being. Alongside an explosion of written counter-media known as *mini-komi*, the protest photography book is the necessarily chaotic self-representation of collectivist desire from below.[6]

These features are immediately visible in the publications commemorating the Anpo protests, not least in Hamaya Hiroshi's *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*, 1960).[7] The book is an account of the mass demonstrations that took place outside the National Diet Building in Tokyo between May 20 and June 22, 1960. Like other Anpo protest books, its layout expressly articulates the accelerated temporality of a new form of politics—Hamaya's portrayal of the activity of the protesters is exhilarating.[8] An emergent power is delineated: from the opposition of contesting forces, brought into physical conflict by a student vanguard, to mass actions breaching the Diet's defenses, as well as individual acts of heroic

3 – George R. Packard III, *Protest in Tokyo: The Security Treatise Crisis of 1960* (Princeton: Princeton, 1966) and Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

4 – Antonio Negri, *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State*, trans. Maurizia Boscagli (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 10.

5 – Julia Adeney Thomas, "Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan's Elusive Reality," *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 2 (May 2008): 365–94.

6 – Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, "Competing Publics: Citizens' Groups, Mass Media, and the State in the 1960s," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 79–110.

7 – Hamaya Hiroshi, *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1960).

8 – For a description of the book see Judith Keller, "The Locus of Sadness: Protesting the New Japan," in Judith Keller and Amanda Maddox, eds., *Japan's Modern Divide: The Photographs of Hiroshi Hamaya and Kansuke Yamamoto* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), 30–45.

Fig. 1 – Hamaya Hiroshi
Illustration from *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*), 1960. Private collection.

physical confrontation with police. Key strategic moments are recorded: the participation of the National Railway Workers' Union in the general strikes that began to unite workers and students (fig. 1), or the rescue of US government officials from protesters by a Marines helicopter at Haneda airport. The formal features of the book—dense gravure printing, numerous full-page bleeds, and the constant, often blurred, imagery of protesters advancing—provide a sense of politics in motion, an effort to conjure not just the actuality, but also the imaginary of constituent power. The book becomes (literally) darker in its presentation of the struggle, capturing the violence meted out by the state and the injury to, and growing exhaustion of, the protesters. It culminates with the beating to death of a young literature student at the University of Tokyo, Kanba Michiko, during the June 15 raid on the Diet, her life lost in a violent effort to claim direct democracy against the state. Kanba's death and the subsequent passivity of mourning are juxtaposed with the final image of the book: the collective strength of the masses marching together, the coming into being of a new political constituency.

The interconnected nature of social struggles was also a feature of the early protest books, reflecting the breadth of social unrest around the ratification of the Security Treaty. One trade union publication, *Nawabashigo to tetsukabuto: Shufu to Seikatsu rosō 318-nichi tōsō shashinshū* (*Rope Ladder and Iron Helmet: Collection of Photographs of the 318 Days of Struggle of the Trade Union of Shufu to Seikatsu*, 1960) showed the lengthy occupation of a publishing house by its workforce after the dismissal of a worker and the arrest of fifteen others.[9] The book is an electrifying record of the dispute, but also a work of politicization: it shows the mechanisms of occupation itself (the process of entering into and barricading the building); physical confrontation with bosses and police; the work of education and propaganda; the struggle to unionize the workforce; and the efforts to link to other similar disputes, including the Anpo protests. *Rope Ladder and Iron Helmet* functions as a primer for future occupations, revealing the operative nature of Japanese protest. Produced by workers of a company publishing women's magazines, it also imparts a reflexive understanding of the power of visual media, including the building of a campaign to boycott the publications of Shufu to Seikatsu itself.

Other early protest books also recorded occupations, most notably the important Miike mining strike in Japan's most modern colliery, owned by the Mitsui Mining Company.[10] They were a foundational expression of the non-aligned citizen politics—or *nonpori*—that would increasingly trouble Japanese (and American) authorities during the 1960s.[11] Crucially, the books were an effort to represent the protesters to themselves outside of the realm of parliamentary politics, to provide a convincing delineation of a dramatically extended political field. This work of collective self-representation was vital to an inchoate movement; the protest book is mediated by a representational urgency generated from within—few of the photographers stood outside the struggle. Breaking with modes of humanist documentary which were dominant in the postwar period, the books recover forms of activist photography that resemble earlier formations of political modernism, perhaps particularly the interwar worker-photography movement.[12] A desire for activist self-representation explains another defining feature of the protest book form: its repetition. Transcending its specific content, the significance of the protest book lies in its insistent restatement of democracy in action, an assertion of the "working existence" of citizen power in 1960s Japan.[13]

However, it is also important to pay close attention to the temporality of the protest book, inextricably linked as it is to the waxing and waning of constituent power. There is a gradual downturn in publication after 1960, as the Anpo demonstrations were neutralized by the reconfiguration of the Japanese government and as policy shifted away from violent confrontation to one of promoting economic growth and the spread of consumer consolations. Protest books published in the middle of the decade are often no longer collective projects, but rather the work of individual photographers and are more reflexive in form. These include Kawada Kikuji's *Chizu* (*The Map*, 1965) and Kitai Kazuo's *Teikō* (*Resistance*, 1965).[14] Kitai's book was self-funded during a period of activism with the Zengakuren—his prints were purchased by protesters to document its activities.[15] It contains images of a demonstration against the visit of a US atomic submarine to Yokosuka Naval Base in November 1964, as well as shots of the street bars frequented by American sailors. Accompanied by a poem by Inoue Mitsuharu about coal miners

9 – *Nawabashigo to tetsukabuto: Shufu to Seikatsu rosō 318-nichi tōsō shashinshū* (Tokyo: Pen Poporo, 1960).
10 – See *Shashinshū Miike: 200-nichi no tatakai no kiroku* [*Photographs of Miike: Document of the 200 Days of Struggle*] (Tokyo: Mugi Shobō, 1960).
11 – For the importance of *nonpori* see William Marotti, "Japan 1968: the performance of violence and the theater of protest," *American Historical Review 114*, no. 1 (2009): 97–135.
12 – Jorge Ribalta, ed., *The Worker Photography Movement (1926–1939)* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2011).
13 – As Karl Marx wrote of another vital moment of constituent politics, that of the Paris Commune: "The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people." From "The Civil War in France," in Karl Marx, *Later Political Writings*, ed. Terrell Carver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 192.
14 – Kitai Kazuo, *Teikō* (Tokyo: Murai-sha, 1965).
15 – See Kitai Kazuo, "The Time of Resistance, Zengakuren, Barricade and Sanrizuka: What My Camera and I Were Thinking Between 1964 and 1972," *Barricade* (East Hampton, NY: Harper's Books, 2012).

and soldiers during World War II, Kitai staged an interpretation of protest through a conscious aesthetic distancing. He developed techniques to disrupt the easy identification embodied by the documentary photograph, utilizing rough-grained film stock stored in damp conditions to create marks and scratches on the surface of the image. Positioning himself against the objectification of the camera, Kitai manages both to monumentalize protest and fold the viewer into the experience of the demonstrations. Heightening the sense of individual participation and pushing at the referential limits of the photograph, the book attempts to enunciate a phenomenology of resistance.

Late 1967 saw a dramatic upturn in political activism in response to the intensification of the American war in Vietnam and a related spike in the production of protest books, particularly by student associations. Organization played a crucial role, above all the formation of a new coalition of student activists known as the Sanpa Zengakuren, united by their ferocious opposition to the Communist student bloc, the Minsei. Although numerically smaller, Sanpa was dynamic, well-organized, and committed to militant action, and it prompted a resurgence in the student movement. Its main target was the Japanese government's indirect support of American forces in Vietnam, including the presence of nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered ships on US bases in Japan. Relatively small groups of student activists orchestrated a series of violent confrontations with police, resulting in widespread, sometimes sympathetic media coverage and a subsequent sharp increase in the recruitment of activists. 1968 and 1969 saw further battles on the streets of Tokyo and a wave of large-scale campus rebellions, in particular at Toyko and Nihon universities, led by the Zenkyōtō (All-Student Joint Struggle Conference), a broader coalition of student activists. Student mobilization was constituent power in its rawest form—eruptive, self-organized, and prone to violent confrontation with the agents of the state, including university authorities.[16]

Protest books published by various student associations and committees record these actions, as well as investigating other issues of concern, such as the impact of industrial pollution in Japan's rapidly growing economy.[17] Often focused on set-piece confrontations, the books outline the tactical organization and progression of the struggle. Thus the anonymously published *'69 11/13–17 Satō oubei soshi tōsō* (*'69 11/13–17 Fight to Stop Satō from Visiting America*, 1969) begins with a sketch map of the five days of protest before recording its evolution in photographs.[18] It concludes with an image of Presidents Satō and Nixon together on a television screen, evoking the remoteness of elite representation and rule.

By contrast, student protest books are documents of embedded activism, reports from the battlefields of constituent power. Titling, layout, and imagery privilege the immediacy of the event—for example *10.21 to ha Nanika* (*What is 10.21?*, 1969) concerning one of the largest anti-Vietnam protests of 1968—shunning individual authorship in favor of collective action and production.[19] The design of these books combines descriptive detail with disorienting juxtapositions and elusive images produced in the heat of the battle, often at night, using rudimentary equipment. The result is an aesthetic of bodily immersion, nervous movement, the disorientation of smoke, and the flare of fire. This has less to do with neo-avant-garde positioning (the oft-quoted similarity to *Provoke* seems to me to be tenuous), than it does an effort to find a way of visualizing the working existence of violent protest, the structure of feeling of constituent politics. The protest book aims both to feed the mind and dazzle the senses in order to communicate the intoxicating experience of revolution.

In a brief commentary on the Zengakuren in his *Empire of Signs*, Roland Barthes noted the highly functional organization of the student battles with police, and their unfolding display of "tactical precautions." This was precisely what the student protest books were designed to record—images of violent confrontation are invariably presented as part of a drawn-out process of mobilization. This is seen, for example, in *Kaihoku '68* (*Liberated Area '68*, 1968) produced by the Japan University Students' Power League of Tokyo, including photographs by the young student Watanabe Hitomi.[20] The book carefully elucidates four different phases of the struggle at Nihon University, culminating eventually in violent clashes with right-wing forces (fig. 2). Indeed, confrontation was a deliberate tactical ploy on the part of students, aiming to encourage, and thus expose, the far greater violence of the state. From late 1967, Sanpa activists adopted

Fig. 2 – Japan University Student's Power League of Tokyo
Illustration from *Kaihoku '68* (*Liberated Area '68*), 1968.
Private collection.

16 – For a contemporary analysis of the student movement see Sunada Ichiro, "The Thought and Behavior of Zengakuren: Trends in the Japanese Student Movement," *Asian Survey* 9, no. 6 (June 1969): 457–74. See also Stuart Dowsey, ed., *Zengakuren: Japan's Revolutionary Students* (Berkeley: Ishi Press, 1970).
17 – See in particular the book published in 1970 by the All-Japan Students' Photo Association, *Kon chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai / Kogai kyampēn shashinshū* [*No Country on Earth for Us / Public Nuisance Campaign*].
18 – *'69 11/13–17 Satō oubei soshi tōsō* (Tokyo: Satō Oubei Soshi Tōsō, 1969).
19 – *10.21 to ha nanika* (Tokyo: The 10.21 to ha nanika Publishing Committee, 1969).
20 – *Kaihoku '68* (Tokyo: Japan University Students' Power League, 1968).

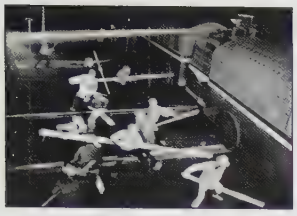


Fig. 3 – Kanayama Toshiaki
Illustration from *Dotou/Years of Violent Change (Scream of Outrage/Years of Violent Change)*, 1970.
Private collection.

Fig. 4 – Kurihara Tatsuo
Illustration from *Shashin hōkoku Okinawa 1961–1970* (*Okinawa Photo-Reportage 1961–1970*), 1970.
Private collection.

the use of wooden staves, known as *Gewalt* staves or *geba-bō*, a symbol of strength but also, as they argued, legitimate violence.[21] The point is made explicitly in Kanayama Toshiaki's *Dotou/Years of Violent Change* (*Scream of Outrage/Years of Violent Change*, 1970) where students are shown futilely ramming armored vehicles discharging water cannons (fig. 3).[22]

As Barthes argued, the student mobilizations offered a semiotics of protest far exceeding Western ideas of improvised riot or protest as individual expression. In Japan, he wrote, the "writing of violence" produced "a great scenario of signs," "a syntax of actions (overturn, uproot, drag, pile), performed like a prosaic sentence, not like an inspired ejaculation." Although operative and workaday, such "mass writing" could also be imaginative, as in the book produced by Fukushima Kikujirō titled *Gasu dan no tanima kara no hōkoku* (*A Report from the Valley of the Gas War*, 1969), showing student protests at the University of Tokyo in 1969.[23] One section focused on the injuries caused by the riot police, particularly their use of CN or chloroacetophenone, a form of tear gas fired from water cannons that was also being used against the Vietminh in Vietnam. The book reported that ten thousand shots had been fired during the Tokyo demonstrations, resulting in numerous burns and head injuries; it included a detailed illustrated narrative of the deadly effect of the gas on rats. In this and similar books the students were engaging in a battle of representation more sophisticated, but also far more vociferous, than their counterparts in Paris or Chicago. As Barthes argued, part of the purpose of the "volume of violence" was the assertion of constituent action itself: "The Zengakuren are going to fight."[24]

However, by late 1969 the campus revolts had begun to fade as university authorities working with police tightened their control and the student movement became weakened by bitter factional disputes. Increasingly, activists transferred their energies to other conflicts, notably those against the American administration of Okinawa (and the presence of massive US military facilities in the Ryukyu Islands more generally) and the battle against the building of a new Tokyo airport at Sanrizuka. Intimately tied to the history of occupation, both struggles involved grassroots alliances with international links, notably those opposed to the destruction wrought by American air power in Vietnam. They represent a further transformation in the working of constituent politics in Japan and a related shift in the representational strategies embodied by the protest book. In retrospect, both issues reflected a narrowing of citizen politics as confrontations with the state, however violent, became more geographically limited and reduced to smaller cohorts of committed activists.

Okinawa, the so-called "Keystone of the Pacific," had been occupied by American forces since 1945 and was due to revert to Japanese rule in 1972.[25] The impact of its extensive US military infrastructure, particularly the large Air Force base at Kadena, began to be explored by photographers, notably Tōmatsu Shōmei, from the late 1950s. Okinawa offered a rich symbolic vocabulary in the face of an overwhelming imbalance of power, opposing aspects of traditional Japanese culture to the depredations of the American military-industrial machine. Okinawa protest books tend toward a realist rhetoric of juxtaposition and contrast, enriched by a complex territorial dynamic and the positioning of the photographer as outsider. Thus Kurihara Tatsuo, working for the Asahi newspaper, produced *Shashin hōkoku Okinawa 1961–1970* (*Okinawa Photo-Reportage 1961–1970*, 1970), concluding with a series of color spreads evoking the Technicolor plenitude of American popular culture.[26] It includes an image of two prone soldiers, on leave from Vietnam, straddled by their girlfriends—a picture shot voyeuristically with a telephoto lens from behind a wire fence (fig. 4). Okinawa's tough libidinal economy was a persistent theme of fascination for photographers, seen in Nagahama Osamu's *Atsuku nagai yoru no shima* (*The Island of Long Hot Nights*, 1972), a book that forcefully articulates the relationship between American militarism and the exploitation of Japanese women.[27] Other themes included the depletion of Okinawa's marine resources and the general threat posed to small-scale peasant production by unfettered capitalist expansion, not least the growing presence of the oil industry.[28]

More the work of photojournalists and independent photographers, the Okinawa books show a subtle shift toward representation rather than self-representation as the constative force of constituent power recedes. It is important not to exaggerate this—most of the photographers

21 – Marotti, "Japan 1968," 131. The German word *Gewalt* is notoriously difficult to translate into English, carrying multiple meanings of public, or institutional force, legitimate power, domination, authority, and violence.
22 – *Dotou/Years of Violent Change* (Tokyo: Self-published, 1970).
23 – *Gasu dan no tanima kara no hōkoku* (Tokyo: M.P.S. Shuppanbu, 1969).
24 – Roland Barthes, "The Writing of Violence," in *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Noonday Press, 1989), 103–6.
25 – For a history of Okinawa see Tanji Miyume, *Myth, Struggle and Protest in Okinawa* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).
26 – Kurihara Tatsuo, *Shashin hōkoku Okinawa, 1961–1970* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun-sha, 1970).
27 – Nagahama Osamu, *Atsuku nagai yoru no shima* (Tokyo: Hoga Shoten, 1972).
28 – See Yoshioka Kō, *Okinawa 69–70* (Tokyo: Shashin Ichigun, 1970) and Ureshino Kyōko, *Okinawa* (Tokyo: Shin-Nihonshuppansha, 1968).

were committed to the anti-base struggle and the working existence of citizen protest is still evident—but nonetheless, the politics of representation begins to be more consciously articulated, displacing the (self-)representation of politics seen in earlier manifestations of the protest book. In part this was to deal with the abstract scope of American power and the need to organize picture narratives allegorically. There is no better example of this than the oft-repeated motif of the B-52 bomber, which by 1968 was averaging 350 sorties per month over North Vietnam out of Kadena Air Base alone. Glimpsed from the ground, its menacing, hawk-like frame is a constant motif in Tōmatsu's *Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa* (1969) (fig. 5).[29] It is contrasted with the everyday activities of the islanders, including those protesting against its use. The B-52 is seen again in serial form in the journal *Non* (1970), a dark force looming ever larger over the Japanese people.[30] A graphic emblem of the destructive power of the American technological sublime, it also references the overwhelming of Japanese sovereignty. And in *Provoke* 2 the airplane seems to disperse into the grain of the paper altogether, a photographic evisceration of constituted power's most active deadly weapon.

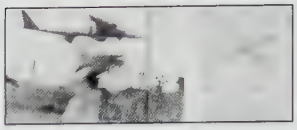


Fig. 5 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Illustration from *Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa*, 1969. Private collection.

The final subject of the protest book was another vastly unequal struggle, that of farmers, students, and workers against the building of the New Toyko International Airport on the Chiba peninsula at Sanrizuka. Beginning in 1966 this long-running conflict—to all intents and purposes a small-scale civil war—was fueled by concerns including the industrialization of farming, unfettered urbanization, and the use of national infrastructure to support American military interests.[31] Initiated by local farmers, Sanrizuka drew in students as the campus battles faded, broadening its political scope to include those opposed to the war in Vietnam and the further renewal of the Security Treaty in 1970. The students brought with them all the "tactical precautions" learned in the city, inspiring the farmers to change their attitude to physical resistance. Sanrizuka soon resembled a battlefield with the farmers' land defended by barricades, watchtowers, and a network of tunnels. As police carried out a series of expropriations, the levels of violence escalated, taking on—as Matsumoto's affidavit hints—a ritualized form. Protesters, including units of children, confronted raw state power with sticks and stones, resulting in the mobilization of 500,000 police, 7,000 injuries, 6 deaths, and 2,500 arrests.[32] An epic confrontation which attracted international attention, Sanrizuka nonetheless increasingly felt like a last-ditch battle.

As before, the protest books captured both the strategic intricacy and sublime scale of the conflict. With press access heavily regulated by police, this was more than ever a battle over representation. Kitai Kazuo first travelled to Sanrizuka in January 1969, photographing intermittently over two years in order to publish his narrative of the early years of the struggle, *Sanrizuka 1969–1971* (1971).[33] Shooting with a 25 mm panoramic lens, Kitai attempted to connect the farmers and protesters intimately to the land, drawing on the graphic density of Japanese woodblock printing to delineate the rhythm of their labor.[34] The book's rich matte gravure conjures the intensity of peasant experience nonetheless transformed by combat and the profound disfigurement of the Chiba landscape. The Sanrizuka protest books are a tour de force of embedded reportage, as photographers and filmmakers engaged with farmers and students over an extended period. This proximity is also evident in the collectively produced *Sanrizuka – moeru hokusō daichi / Document 1966–71* (*Sanrizuka – Burning Hokusō Land / Document 1966–71*, 1971), which contrasts portraits of Sanrizuka peasants, particularly its women, against panoramic views of the pitched battles with riot police.[35] Consciously a document of an intensely tactical struggle, the book, like that of Kitai, mobilizes photography in an effort to bring the viewer closer to the constitutive subjectivity of the farmers.

Although the protesters delayed the opening of the Narita airport by seven years, it soon became clear—particularly after a second round of expropriations in September 1971—that the state would eventually triumph. Regular violent confrontations and a skillful war of position brought occasional victories, such as the capture and partial destruction of the new control tower by members of the Trotskyist Fourth International in March 1978. But however heroic the actions of the farmers and militants, and however emblematic their struggle, they were becoming further isolated from a population lulled into complacency by an expanding consumer economy and the privatization of social experience. Outside of its Sanrizuka redoubts extra-institutional politics was in retreat, overwhelmed by constituted power. The reverberations of this development are

29 – Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa* (Tokyo: Shaken, 1969). See also Matthew S. Witkovsky's discussion of the Meiji University Camera Club's book *Treadle Airplanes* in this volume, pp. 478–79.
30 – *Non* 2, "Okinawa wa niga-ya" [Okinawa is a bitter world] (Tokyo: Gendai Shokan, 1970).
31 – For a full account see David E. Apter and Nagayo Sawa, *Against the State: Politics and Social Protest in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
32 – Quoted in Fukushima Kikujirō, Senjō kara no hōkoku: Sanrizika 1967–1977 [*Report from a Battleground: Sanrizuka 1967–1977*] (Tokyo: Shakai Hyoronsha, 1977), 3.
33 – Kitai Kazuo, *Sanrizuka 1969–1971* (Tokyo: Nora-sha, 1971).
34 – See Kitai, "The Time of Resistance" (2012).
35 – Mitome Tadao et al, *Sanrizuka – moeru hokusō daichi / Document 1966–71* (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1971).

felt in the later protest books, which lose the compressed temporality of earlier publications, becoming increasingly retrospective, perhaps even commemorative in form.[36] Although partisan accounts of a ferocious struggle, these books are no longer an expression of constituent protest as a pervasive social force.

How then, by way of conclusion, are we to position the publication of *Provoke* within this turbulent circuit of politics and representation, of an insurgent power and its expression in photography? How might we begin to conceive of the relationship between the magazine and the constituent politics that formed its backdrop?

On July 19, 1969, in the course of one night, the police evicted protesters from their popular gathering place in the Plaza in Tokyo's Shinjuku station. At the same time they altered all its signage, from Shinjuku West Exit Underground Plaza to Underground Concourse. It was, as Jordan Sand has argued, a minor event in the longer tactical battle between protesters and police, but one of historic portent: it marked an attempt to destroy the urban commons in the city, to break the link, so resonant since the Anpo protests of 1960, between mass politics and urban space.[37] For the authorities, the Plaza was no longer to be a place of free association, democratic debate, or carnivalesque protest and performance. Instead, a spontaneously appropriated common space was to be returned to its intended use—as a concrete concourse ushering millions of Tokyo commuters quietly and efficiently between their homes in the suburbs to their places of work in the city center.

I want to suggest that *Provoke* represents a similarly portentous moment, a break with the effort to represent the commons in photography as articulated through the various forms of the protest book. However, unlike the transfer of signage at Shinjuku station, this was not an overtly reactionary act, nor should we align the intentions of the Provoke photographers with the actions of the police. *Provoke* takes as its subject a sudden transformation in urban space that Paul Virilio would later describe as "the overexposed city."[38] It records a tipping point in the experience of Japanese urbanism during the 1960s, marked by the rise of new forms of mobility, the growing importance of electronic media, and an intensified commodification. Famously, the stability of the urban environment is displaced through an aesthetic of confusion known as *are-bure-boke* (rough, blurred, out of focus), with an emphasis on a subjectivized viewpoint (often a voyeuristic male gaze) and celebrated for its break with earlier objectivizing modes of documentary humanism. Remediation is also an important theme, seen in the subject matter of television and urban surveillance, but also in an exploration of the formal possibilities of different modes of photographic reproduction. Accordingly, *Provoke* is lionized as a reflexive reinvigoration of a critical urban aesthetic fed by the interruptive energy of the Japanese protest movement.

But *Provoke* is also a symptom of a crisis in the representation of constituent politics. This is signaled in the notoriously obscure statements of *Provoke* 1, which seek to extract photography from its function as ideological weapon to privilege an altogether more fragmentary apprehension of reality. Indeed, it is possible to read a withdrawal from the commons enacted in the layout of the journal itself, as it moves quickly from Taki Kōji's images of employees defending the left-wing San'ichi Shobō publishing house and his photographs of miners, through to a concern in subsequent series with images of the everyday and the pleasures of consumption, including the fashion industry. The protesting commons is eviscerated and the body of the lone photographer becomes more significant in the production of urban space. Liminality is privileged over monumentality and individual mobility over the motion of the masses. While *are-bure-boke* is often eulogized, it also amounts to an occlusion of visual information, seen in the way that the motif, sometimes repeated, comes to dominate the frame. There is a similarity here to what Eric Cazdyn has described as the rise of a "pornographic aesthetic" in Japanese cinema, an obscuring of social reference as bodies and, by extension commodities, increasingly come to fill the picture "to the marginalization of everything else."[39] The formal potential of this approach reaches a stunning culmination in *Provoke* 3.

In retrospect, *Provoke* was a sensitive inflection of a further mutation in citizen politics, its publication coinciding with the beginning of the end of a wave of revolutionary upheaval. It sought to break the circuit of representation of constituent power, "freeing" photography from

36 – See in particular Fukushima, *Report from a Battleground*, and the two books by Hamaguchi Takashi, *Document Sanrizuka jūnen no kiroku* (Tokyo: Nihon Shashin Kikaku, 1977) and *The Shudders of Narita Airport* (Tokyo: Self-published, 1978).
37 – Jordan Sand, *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013).
38 – Paul Virilio, "Une Ville Surexposée," *Change International*, no. 1 (1983): 19–22.
39 – Eric Cazdyn, *The Flash of Capital: Film and Geopolitics in Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 181.

the shackles of protest, notably through the abandonment of the commons and any attempt to represent it. Although there is a formal similarity to aspects of the protest books (particularly Kitai's phenomenology of resistance), it came to express a very different content. *Provoke*, in other words, was also an index of defeat, a formally challenging neo-avant-gardism exploring the materialization of the overexposed city. However, it was a provocation deprived of, perhaps even organized against, constituent subjectivity.

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KANEKO RYŪICHI

Interviewed by Matthew S. Witkovsky

Matthew S.Witkovsky: Where and when did you study at university?

Kaneko Ryūichi: I entered Rissho University [in Tokyo] in April 1967, as a student in the department of literature, with a specialty in geography.

MW: Geography is within the literature department?

KR: Historical geography. My major was Japanese historical geography.

MW: Were you already making photographs?

KR: My father, temple master at the temple where I grew up and which I now administer, for many years enjoyed taking photographs. He gave me a camera as a small child. When I entered high school in 1964, I joined a camera club.

MW: Who introduced you to the Zen Nihon Gakusei Shashin Renmei (All-Japan Students' Photo Association, or AJSPA)?

KR: When I entered university, an upper-level student, Nonaka Noriaki, recommended a lecture hosted by AJSPA to me. This initiated my discovery of the association. In my junior year, in 1969, I became captain of the Rissho University club. Then in 1970–71, I served as chairman of the entire association, which covered most areas of the country.

MW: Briefly put, what would be the difference between AJSPA as you encountered it, in 1967, and the classic camera clubs of the 1930s?

KR: Mainly, the classic photo clubs focused their energies on defining photographs as art, while concentrating less on interconnections among the club members.

MW: Did AJSPA have some leaning toward art photography?

KR: The members of AJSPA thought that photography is a documentary art form—that photographic art is documentary.

MW: On the model of Domon Ken?

KR: Yes.

MW: Is it fair to say that photography was an art for the newspaper?

KR: Not the newspaper, the magazine.

MW: Was AJSPA in 1967 involved with the student protest movement?

KR: They started to be influenced by student activism from 1964 or 1965 onward. However, they never committed themselves directly to activism. In 1966 and 1967, the Zenkyōtō movement (All-Campus Joint Struggle Council) took shape; AJSPA was an ancillary element in that movement.

MW: Did the moment of your joining AJSPA coincide, then, with the association and its members taking a greater interest in the student protest movement?

KR: You could partly say that. Societal tendencies and tendencies within AJSPA were compatible, both directed against the government. Taking photographs, taking part in theatrical productions, and artistic creation more generally were all oriented in this direction.

MW: When did you get involved—if ever—in student demonstrations?

KR: Maybe in 1967 or early 1968, I was involved in some student street demonstrations. My university also had a circle of Zenkyōtō members. But my commitment to AJSPA was deeper than my engagement on the street. Members of AJSPA did not get involved in social demonstrations. In 1967–68, the group's older members, such as Nonaka, stopped participating in the protests. They wanted to take photographs of the demonstrations instead. Not journalistic, not neutral. They stopped being activists, because if they took photographs of particular demonstrators, those demonstrators might get arrested.

MW: I thought that you were going to say that—at the moment of lifting the camera to one's eyes, one is no longer a fully active demonstrator. To photograph a demonstration is not the same as to take part in one. Was such a point discussed in AJSPA?

KR: They discussed seriously, and often, whether to bring a camera or a stick to a fight.

MW: You have written well about a shift in the structure of AJSPA that took place in the early 1960s. In the catalog to your exhibition 1968—*Japanase Photography: Photographs that Stirred Up Debate, 1966–1974*—you state that in 1969 AJSPA had branches at 234 universities and 931 high schools, with nearly 35,000 students enrolled as members. Second, you state that in the 1950s, club officers would essentially issue "orders" to the members, assigning a common topic—birds, for example—and collecting photographs on this topic; students faithfully followed instructions. By contrast, at the time that you joined AJSPA, the structure was more that of a debate, with member students contributing photographs and discussions toward the debate.

KR: A lot of discussion, yes! And camps. There were summer camps, also in May and at other times, when we would spend three to four nights (and four to five days) in discussion at retreats. During the camp meetings, students would bring their photographs and pin them up on the walls, and the discussions would begin. All day and long into the night. Each university held a camp twice a year. In addition, all-AJSPA camps were held three times yearly. And finally, regional sections within AJSPA held camps. The timing changed year to year, but the freshman camp (for new members) always came in May. In September came the university camp; the AJSPA general camp would be held in the fall as well.

MW: Did the general camp take place in Tokyo?

KR: Not in Tokyo itself—too expensive—but nearby. From winter to spring came further camps at individual universities.

MW: Did you only meet members of AJSPA attending other universities at the camps?

KR: That is true, although one could stay friends with students whom one had met at one of these camps. Or at a lecture given to AJSPA members. When I was a freshman, I was invited to hear Mr. Fukushima Tatsuo, a former AJSPA student, speak about the history of photography and contemporary photographic expression. Fukushima was of

the generation of Vivo, he had curated the important exhibition *Jūnin no me* (*Eyes of Ten*) in 1957, where Vivo members like Tōmatsu [Shōmei] and Kawada [Kikuji] had first met each other. He introduced us to the work of Tōmatsu, Hosoe, Kawada, and all of Vivo; also William Klein. That was very important. When I saw the pages of [Klein's book] *Life is Good and Good for You in New York,* it was incredible for me. Great. I thought, "this is photography!" Also he introduced Ed van der Elsken, *Love on the Left Bank*, and *Sweet Life*, which had just been published in 1966 [republished in Tokyo in 1968].

MW: Those photographers—Klein and van der Elsken—are often credited with shaping the approach of Moriyama [Daidō] and Nakahira [Takuma]. But you've said elsewhere that you did not gravitate to those photographers' work.

KR: I was interested in Moriyama, at the beginning. But I could not suggest to AJSPA that Moriyama was following our way. So my interest remained separate, personal. In fact, when I became captain of the Risshō University club, and then when I was named Chairman of AJSPA, I stopped taking photographs altogether and set aside my personal interests in favor of collective initiatives.

MW: Were the camps already taking place in 1952, at the start of AJSPA?

KR: That I do not know. I believe from my research that these structural changes occurred in 1962 to 1963. Key indications of the shifts are the books *Jōkyō 1965* (*Conditions 1965*) and *Ashibumi hikōki* (*Treadle Airplanes*). These were two key publications brought out by student camera clubs.

MW: Can you remember how you learned about these books, whether someone in particular urged you to buy them?

KR: I think it was that members of AJSPA at Risshō University had some photographs in *Conditions 1965*. I may have bought that book, or both, from someone at the Meiji University Camera Club, as Meiji students published *Treadle Airplanes*.

MW: The book contains guidelines for club participants. Is there something that stands out for you in reviewing those guidelines?

KR: Yes. The guidelines in this book served me as a textbook for organizing the club. It had not fully changed in my freshman year, in 1967; taking photographs was still a hobby to some degree. My sympathies for the student social movement led me to hope for a change in the structure of the club. As captain, I had to work hard to change the club. We organized a new system for the club.

MW: For instance, chapter 1, "Organization," includes a flow chart. Can you explain this chart, the arrows going in two directions and so on?

KR: These arrows indicate the lines of communication. When the membership is small, there is some conflation of roles, with one member assuming several functions at once.

MW: One could say that, interestingly, there is a straightforward clarity to the graph that is not at all matched by the photographs. Take this one for instance, is it a picture of a sheet? Some of the pictures are completely abstract.

KR: Yes.

MW: Did you try to make similar pictures in your club at Risshō University?

KR: The pictures in this book form a kind of self-portrait: who am I? And they point to a definition of oneself in a social existence, not alone.

MW: Does this explanation, as you are giving it now, recall for you discussions that took place at the camps you mentioned, or in your university club?

KR: Discussions would begin with a student articulating what he or she felt about a given photograph, in his or her own words. To talk about the objects seen in a photograph was not enough, or not even correct. To focus on an object is to talk around the photograph. In this example here, if you were to say "this shows a girl," you would be told that you are not looking at the photograph, but merely at the object. But if you were to say that this picture of a girl points to a double spread in *Treadle Airplanes*. On the right-hand page, a young girl is looking up at the camera, wearing traditional clothing leaves me feeling anxious, that could be a starting point for discussion.

MW: On this spread, one photograph zooms straight up the side of a modern high-rise building, while the other shows a blinding view of another building. You commented that these photographs show the place of an individual in society. This is not a comment I would have expected! It looks almost like abstract photography and you call this a picture of the individual's place in society. Is that sort of comment linked for you to protest? Why do you describe the pictures this way?

KR: This right-hand picture shows people isolated in the city—there are some people visible in it. On the left side, it shows something huge pushing me down, but we don't know what, exactly.

MW: How would a book get created out of all the photographs that students were bringing? Can you explain the order, the placement?

KR: This book was made from photographs by Meiji University Camera Club members, and in 1966, when it appeared, I was still in high school. But probably it came together through the work of Mr. Abe Kenichi or Mr. Onishi Tadayasu, perhaps aided by some others. Onishi worked in Hiroshima and was a core member of the camera club in that city. He was a great student photographer. There were three to four core members [at Meiji].

MW: Could it be said more generally that the sorts of discussions held around the photographs would also take place in making the books that got published? Or were the books made in a more exclusive or even solitary way?

KR: The books were both the result and the cause of our discussions.

MW: How did such books circulate?

KR: I don't know how many copies of *Treadle Airplanes*, for example, were published. But members of AJSPA would recommend them individually. For example, one member of the Meiji University Club would go around asking other students to buy a particular book.

MW: Did students bring books to the camps? Did they bring other photo books, not published by any student groups?

KR: For lack of money, students did not often publish their own books. Before 1967 or 1968, photographs in any such books represented very individual feelings. With the rise in activism, shifts took place against that individualism. The style of photographs in *Treadle Airplanes* shows the limit of a certain way of representation, and the need was felt for a change.

MW: Did members of AJSPA know of the books *Black Fear*, 1960, and *Two Hundred Days of Protest*, 1960, or Domon's *Chikuho no Kodomotachi* (*The Children of Chikuho*, 1960)?

KR: Yes, they did, but conditions at the clubs varied widely. At Risshō, we had many photo books in the club room. Domon or Kimura Ihei did not interest us. They were part of a realism movement. We wanted something more subjective.

MW: Did you discuss *Provoke* in the club?

KR: Mr. Nonaka introduced me to *Provoke*. After graduating, I became interested in Nakahira's work, in the mid-1970s, so I got the *Provoke* three-volume set in the 1970s. Initially, I bought only the first issue, but I bought issues 2 and 3 later. I was interested in Takanashi, not Moriyama or Nakahira. In *Tokyo-jin* (*Tokyoites*). *Provoke* was very different than AJSPA photographs.

MW: Did *Provoke* seem to answer the question as to what role photography could play in a time of protest?

KR: I did not think so. Tōmatsu Shōmei could give an answer to this discussion of the role of the photographer in a time of social upheaval. Not the photographs in *Provoke*. Tōmatsu's *Nagasaki 11:02* appeared in 1966; *Nihon* (*Japan*) appeared in 1968. These two books were our bible. Moriyama's book *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (*Japan: A Photo Theater*, 1968) was not so highly regarded. More interesting was Kawada's *Chizu* (*The Map*, 1965), although it was published earlier, and also very (perhaps too) luxurious.

MW: Was Tōmatsu more relevant to you because he gave you a recognizable subject, and the emotion along with it? Were Moriyama and Nakahira too abstract?

KR: Takanashi's photographs in *Provoke* are quite different than those in *Tokyoites*, for one thing. Nakahira and Taki lacked a social theme. Their photographs resemble those in *Treadle Airplanes*. *Provoke* came out in 1968. We wanted at that time [in AJSPA] to move to collective production: Hokkaidō, for example. (Hiroshima, another such project, had already been started in 1967.) *Provoke* was too individualistic, as was *Treadle Airplanes*. The way of *Provoke* was not our way.

MW: From the standpoint of fostering debate and discussion, if everyone is taking photographs of the same thing, in more or less the same way, is that not a big step backward for photography?

KR: Perhaps—but the purpose of AJSPA was not to render photography more sophisticated, it was to advance a social awareness. *Hiroshima Hiroshima* [1972] did that. More than thirty students were involved in its making. Collective action was quite important to us. To organize a cultural movement across Japan had its purpose.

MW: Was there another way, besides books, that photographs should circulate, according to the members of AJSPA?

KR: There were festivals on campus each year, where members could put their photographs on show. But in our years, the Zenkyōtō student movement closed the universities! So there was no place to hold the festivals. Some clubs had message boards on which to post photographs, but not ours.

MW: And did students try to publish their photographs in a newspaper or magazine?

KR: No. The students wanted to be the ones to make their own photographs, and also the ones to show them. I organized the All-Japan Camp in 1970 and 1971 (my graduating year); and I organized the association-wide project *No Country in this Land*.

MW: This campaign, I believe, was to send members from every club in AJSPA to Hokkaido.

KR: Individual student photographers could join the campaign too. It was to document environmental pollution. It was a subject that interested all Japanese people. For this reason, one to two students joined the project, also one or more members from Fukuoka. Most came from Kyoto, Osaka; also some from Kansai and Nagoya.

MW: How did they find the money to participate?

KR: We took student jobs to raise money for their travel.

MW: Did students pay fees to belong to AJSPA?

KR: The members of individual clubs affiliated with AJSPA would pay dues to their club, which would then share the money with the central organization. But that structure had broken down by the end of the 1960s. Individual clubs had a budget allotted by the university, some of which went to AJSPA. Beyond this, it was up to individual students to get jobs. Mine was a part-time position in a printing house. The money I made there went into the Hokkaido project.

MW: Narita came up as a general subject of discussion among students and protesters in 1969, 1970, 1971—just at the time when you became the head of AJSPA. Was photographing there discussed in the clubs?

KR: Yes, it was. But the camera is too dangerous. Photographs can be used to identify activists, and brought in as evidence in court. And the photographer can be arrested simply for being there. So student photographers of protests were kept separate from AJSPA.

MW: Did you not invite protest photographers to speak to your membership? Hamaguchi [Takashi], Watanabe [Hitomi], Kitai [Kazuo]?

KR: Hamaguchi was a journalist, and therefore had a very different approach than ours. Also Kurihara Tatsuo, and others. We did not want their neutrality. Beyond that, they were not members of AJSPA, and so could not speak to the members.

MW: So you did not invite anyone to lecture who was committed to photographing the struggles?

KR: No. For example, I knew Kitai's work through *Asahi Graph* or other media outlets, but did not know him personally. Other members of AJSPA did contact him. Watanabe took photographs inside the University of Tokyo. This brought her in contact with members of Zenkyōtō. We had no such contact. Nor did we interact with at Waseda University students. They represented a sect, if you will, and we wanted to be non-sectarian.

MW: Although, the Hokkaido project carries evident resonance with the student struggle—or, better put, with the reasons for the struggle. Unhappiness with how the government is running the country.

KR: Certainly. The official message about Hokkaido, put out by the government, was dreamy: progress, civilization for the Ainu. We called our project *Hokkaido 101*. One hundred years of government occupation + 1, the new year: our year.

MW: What was the intended outcome: a book, more discussions?

KR: *Hokkaido 101* was a very long project. It began in 1969 and lasted into the 1970s. As the chairman of AJSPA, I organized camps to take photographs, not to debate them. I graduated in 1971, but the project continued. Perhaps three to four hundred students in all joined that project. For my exhibition *1968*, I chose photographs made only from 1969 to 1974, which was the first stage of that project. The style of photographs kept changing.

MW: When you proposed the project, there was no discussion of a result? All that was talked about was how to organize travel to Hokkaido for taking photographs?

KR: No exhibition was planned for the first stage. We published reports for the members—no pictures, just words. For the report on our Hiroshima project, Tōmatsu wrote an essay. There were other reports from Okinawa and elsewhere.

MW: The question then, in 1968, is why take photographs? And the only good answer seems to be, to discuss them with other photographers.

KR: Yes. To debate. To take or to see photographs is like an actual fact. How we affect those viewing a photograph is the same as how we affect the event. If I can change my mind, if I can change myself, then my photographs can change those looking at the photograph. Our primary audience was the fellow members of AJSPA; then all the students of our school; and we had a vision that we might change the minds of everyone living in this land.

PROVOKE

プロヴォーク／季刊／1号／発行　1968・11・1／発行所　東京都港区北青山3－8－3　藤田アパート内　プロヴォーク社／500円／印刷　凸版印刷株式会

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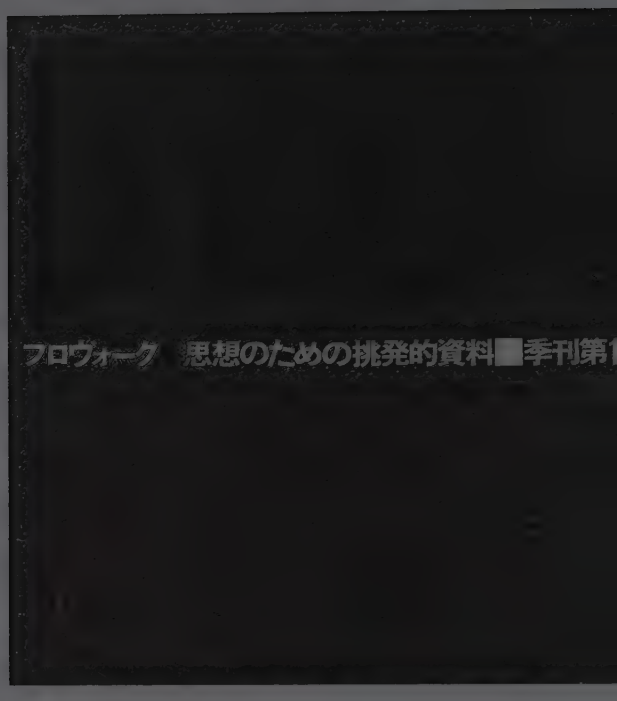

映像はそれ自体としては思想ではない．観念のような全体性をもちえず，言葉のように可換的な記号でもない．しかし，その非可逆的な物質性―カメラによって切りとられた現実―は言葉にとっては裏側の世界にあり，それ故に時に言葉や観念の世界を触発する．その時，言葉は，固定され概念となったみずからをのり超え，新しい言葉，つまりは新しい思想に変身する．

言葉がその物質的基盤，要するにリアリティを失い，宙に舞う他ならぬ今，ぼくたち写真家にできることは，既にある言葉ではとうてい把えることのできない現実の断片を，自からの眼で捕獲してゆくこと，そして言葉に対して，思想に対していくつかの資料を積極的に提出してゆくことでなければならない．PROVOKEが，そしてわれわれが〈思想のための挑発的資料〉というサブ・タイトルを多少の恥かしさを忍んで付けたのはこのような意味からである．

高梨　豊・中平卓馬*・多木浩二*／岡田隆彦
*印は筆者

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見えない，せつない，翔びたい

岡田隆彦

The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & god, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it. ―― Blake

現実に生き，暮らしている以上，あるべき日常生活を求めるのはとうぜんであろう．わたしが甘美な暮らしのただずまいを欲していることを故意に隠す必要はあるまい．まったく個人的に，日常生活のあるべき姿を思い描くとき，そのおぼろげな風景のなかにはたしかに裏や綻びの影がある．わたしたちが，どうしても欲しいのだと抗弁し，思わず筋肉を緊迫させるところのもの，どうしてもそうでありたいのだと叫ぶところのもの，これらは，たぶん，せつない感情を発条とするところのものだが，ほとんどその形成を，かれにとって特別な影像[註1]のせりだしてくるような状態[註2]に負っているように思われる．所用あって，街を歩いているときにも，無為徒食の時刻にも，ひどく緊張して破裂するのが眼にみえているときにも，かれのうちに，特別な影像はせりだしてくる．かれは，そのときなにがしかの影像にすっかりしめつけられてしまうだろう．

遊戯や娯楽や冠婚葬祭のような儀式，恋愛や性交，あるいは江戸時代の諺飾久隅守景が「夕顔棚納涼図」で描いたような，親子３人水いらずの夕涼み，といった日常のただずまい，集団と組織のもたらす偶発的なあつれき・闘争，ひるがえって忌憚な事件や災禍などなど，どのような境位においてであれ，当の人間がせつない心情で自身をいっぱいにしたとき，つまり（いまわたしが立てた仮説にしたがえば）なにものか特別な，ほとんど強迫観念の受肉化たる影像（obsessive image というべきか）の力に押し迫られて苦しくてならないようなとき，かれの意識の動きというものは，まず圧迫や痛苦からの解放へ向かい，融通無碍の，光きらめく絶対的現実[註3]を欲求する．そのときかれは，せっぱつまった感情の激発のただなかで，快適な身心脱落にのめりこもうとし，ここちよい雰囲気を渇望するがしかしじつはそれは，生理的なレヴェルのことがらであるにしかすぎず，＜自由＞そのもののかたちをその人なりの仕方で（ほの暗い内部空間のなかで像が印現してゆくがごとくに）具象[註4]しようとしているのである．――声を立てずの隠し泣き，あはれせつなき涙なり．

＜自由＞とはいったいなにか．これをわたしは，あらゆる形式づけにこだわらずに考えたい．もっとも抽象的にみてみれば，たぶん＜自由＞とは，人間の全体性が展開される事態の謂であり，人間にとってもっとも豊潤な可能態のことであるだろう．このような事態をどのようにもたらし，実現するかについて考えめぐらし，つきつめてゆけば，だれしも，

註1　＊＊＊

実証的な姿勢においてであれ感性的な姿勢においてであれ、現実社会の構造的な歪みにたいする抑圧は必至となるだろう。リアル・ポリティックスの体現する壮大で複雑な虚ヶ実々の世界に深くわけいって、なにがし原理的な提案を遂げがたく身に引き請けるばあいもあるだろうし、虚構としての国家の超個人的な欲望をあばいたのちに社会状況の変革をもくろむばあいもあるだろうし、そっないし心情のきょくたんなあらわれの対極に身をひるがえし、またひとつ別異のきょくたんな心情が充溢しあふれてきたままに純粋に行為し、衆なおし事はじめに燃えたぎるばあいもあろう。さらに、虚構としての国家のもつ絶大な権能をまったく次元のちがうところへ転位して、(どんな名前で呼ばれる芸術における それであれ)表現行為のぜんたいで、まったき自由を虚構によって結晶する方途があるかもしれないことは、どんな頑固な意識からしても、厳しえぬことであるにちがいない。だが、同じ右顧は、つぎの単純な事実に気づかぬかぎ聞にしてしまうが忘れてしまうがゆえに、表現行為を趣味性ですっかり消してしまうのである。どうらもわたしの許すものではない。

心情の無規制なたゆたいは、あるとき美しい光のたゆたいであってもそれのみで終るなら、自然のうちに消滅されてゆくものにすぎない。巌木や屋根の瓦や雲や風カロリーのようにかたすらそのままの存在の美しさを開陳しているとしても、それらは、表現行為を選びそれに選ばれた者にとって、さらにいちだんと活力強化すべき性質の対象であるほかないのだ。もし、そのような方途のはてに表現行為者が自身の欲求と意思にのっとって身動したとき、かれの眼前にひらけるものは、ひどく清虚なものか、もしくは怖ろしいでしまうほど悪魔的な様相を呈するにちがいないのである。こうしたことに関しては、多少とも口はばったい言辱になるが、わたしが物ごころがついてから体験した影像と諦々の事件との職執が、ぼくぜんとしたかたちでありながらもずっとまとわりついてきたのだった。断っておくがわたしは何ときめつけられる特殊ではなくありていの人間でしかない。このわたしは、よりよき現実にまっすぐ走ってゆこうとするエナージーをかかえたせつない心情に存分に感謝してしまいたい動物性から鮮明な光のまんなかに浮き揚がろうとしつつ、多くの情報をまるごと食らってなおも事件の現場に急迫しながら、一方で、人間の全体性をみはるかし、創造行為に同伴していって、さっきのせつなさと自由とを凝結し切ろうとするとき、脳中にゆきすぎる影はかなり透明できらめいているのだが、かなしいことによく見えないのである。現実社会の完全な光りかがやく事態のほんのひとすみで、わたしはまったくの常民として大いなる空気のなかのひとつの心身であり肉と魂でありたいと思う。この望みは非常な激迷をわたしに強いるのである。どんな迷いか、もはや自明であるのを承知のうえでくりかえせば、われらにわれらの自由をとらすための行為が現実における遠くことのできぬ実践であることも真実ならば、その人間の生活空間の核の資産である芸術表現も真実である。そうして、賛言するまでもない、現実社会のレヴェルにおける不動転の実践の主体者も芸術表現の主体者も同じ人間である。しかしだからといってもし、二種の行為を探るにわたしの膂力が人にすぐれていても二種の真実をわがものにすることはできまい。ところがまた、芸術表現を選んで虚構の構築に没頭し、没頭することによって、現実社会にたいする足見を放棄するといったことは、虚構の構築を過不足なく行なうことと、基底部においてつながってはいないのである。まどろっこしいいいまわしであるのは承知している。ただわたしは、二様の真実がじっさいのところ、しばしば背反することもいい、一方、それに近づこうとする行為の過程で二者が複雑微妙に関わっていることもいいたいだけなのである。正直いって、複雑微妙に関わっているといった曖昧な表現でしかいえないのであって、ということは、とりもなおさず、そこらへんのありようがよく見えないということなのだ。二様の真実が真実であるとわたしに弁別しうるとして、少くともその背景は体験的にわたしの知るところである。けれども、なぜ背理しなければならないのかというわけとともに、同じ一個の人間がふたつのことがら、それもきわめて根源的な現象ウルフェノメナにまたがることに思いをはせつつ、その背理なり矛盾相剋を止揚するための論理の脈絡やモメント＝契機のとりかたが、わたしに見通せないのである。むろん、みさわのたいと思い、欲する。しかし見えないことを見えるとごまかすことはしたくない。わたしのせいいっぱいの気もちとして嘘はない。見えないのに、見ているとおのれをいいふくめ、あとは、確信範囲(false category－T．E．ヒューム の用語である)の内がわに人りこんでしまい、真の意識がゆむかもしれないそれとは別異の影像を映楽させるにまかせ、ついにそれを物神化してしまう常為に惑編し、エナージーの多寡を自己評価の基準として、刻影を影様するのに優身をやつすケースは多いのである。これは断じて他人ごとではないのだ、わたしも、弱い性であり、虚構の設営に我を忘れてしまう癖をもっているのだから。

みさわめいのにくく見えないということ、これはまたひどくせつないものである。ここでわたしはもはや一般論のみを語りたいのだけれど、"せつなし"という感情の 局まりは、つよい激発力をもっており、それゆえにこそ、それをどのような なものに転化すべきかについてはそうとうつきつめて考えてみなければならないのである。人は、真向うからたちむかって具体的なかたちに転化し、心情の滑留を方向づけて産出力あるものに結晶するか、いまいった衝発力にはじかれて過遊の道をひた走るかのどちらかを選択するだろう。いや、選択するどころでないのが実情だろう。良かれ悪しかれ、感情の流出であったり、意識の傾斜であったりするのがいっさいで、主体的な選択ということをはるかに凌駕してしまうことのように思われる。それにしても、過遊の道をひた走り自己欺瞞にまたあざむかれたんなる環境や物理的環境とは考えず、主体体のおこす行動を現実する点遊の条件となる内的な世界とした 方法を開けよ。「心理的」とは個人の一個も有元不変な要素の総体・総合のみ、ではなく多層的に重なり合う内的世界全体を指すのであり、行動の原因は、行動(B)はその動因(P)であることにあり、ゆえに B＝f(a) という公式なりP．

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質の対象的に展開された富を通じてはじめて，主体的な人間的感性の富が，音楽的な耳が，形態の美にたいする目が，要するに，人間的な享受をする能力のある諸感覚が，すなわち人間的本質諸力として確証される諸感覚が，はじめて完成されたり，はじめて生みだされたりするのである．なぜなら，ただんに五感だけではなく，いわゆる精神的諸感覚，実践的諸感覚（意志，愛など），一言でいえば，人間的感覚，諸感覚の人間性は，感覚の対象の現存によって，人間化された自然によって，はじめて生成するからである．五感の形成はいままでの全世界史の一つの労作である．粗野な実際的な欲求にとらわれている感覚は，また僅狭な感覚しかもっていない。」（傍点訳者）

人間的本質の対象的に展開された富を通じての主体的な人間的感性の富，が生みだされるばかりか，仲張されることが，私有財産の止揚を，まったく異なったベクトルにおいて本来的に拘わされている芸術表現の場で可能であるとも考えられる．ある詩人のつぎのような見解は，この間の事情をよくついている．

「…… 芸術文学は，まず想像世界を表現して，それを芸術家の主体からも，主体からも，現象的に独立させなければならないという本質的性格を盾にして，現実には社会的な抑圧や疎外のなかにある人間が，その制約のなかにありながら，現象的に制圧のない想像世界をつくりだしたり，体験したりしたいという意識的な，または無意識な欲求によって創造され，享受されるということだ．ことは，あくまでも，現実の社会過程とは，まったく現象的に別な想像世界をうみだし，自立させるという芸術の性格を前提としなければ成立しない．このような想像世界がどんな形式によってつくりだされようと，それによって現実の疎外された社会の抑圧や制約が，実際に解き放たれるわけではない．

ただ芸術は，現象的に社会からも芸術家個人の主体からも切りはなされた想像世界であるという性格によって，現実の社会よりも自由に綜合的に人間や形象や事件とよつかり，かかわりあうことができるため，このような想像世界を体験したり享受したりする人々は，現実的な社会的制約を超えた本質的な世界や本質的疎外を，精神的に体験することができるのである．

これによって人は，社会的制約や抑圧のない世界においてのみ体験しうるかもしれない本質的な人間としての可能性や綜合的な疎外を，ただ，芸術文学の世界でだけ精神的に体験することができる。」[註17]（傍点岡田）

修点を附した部分が正鵠を得ているとして，それゆえにこそ深い問題を孕んでいると思う．詩人は，この一節の少しあとで，芸術に，形式をあたえようとする表現過程でおこるリアリズムと反リアリズムを言い，それを，芸術文学の本質的な性格が必然的に要求する概念であるとしている．（さきにもふれたように）想像世界を表現するそれと，現実社会の抑圧や制約からおのれを解放するための生産関係変革のためのそれと，このふたつの行為の主体は同じ人間である．これをつきつめて考えてみると，当のものが「芸術文学の世界でだけ精神的に体験することができる」ということをとりだしてみるかぎり，さきにわたし自身が警戒したところの二様の遠鑑に関する機械的な理解の弊があらわれ，まるで，芸術表現がまったくの幻影となってしまうかのようである．芸術にのものと，芸術に形式を与えたところの具体物とがまったくの幻影と化してしまうかのようである．そしてまた，詩人が上のように語るかぎりにおいて，芸術表現は，なにものかに疎外されており，そこで，わずかにあらわれているにしかすぎない功利主義的なニュアンスがきわだってきてしまうようにも思われるのである．もっとも，同じ文章のなかで，「芸術がその想像世界を体験した人々のこころに働きかけ，間接に現実を変えることに役立つ（それは役立つ）にもかかわらず，芸術はそれを目的と創られるのではない」（傍点岡田）といっている以上，詩人は核心において一面では功利主義的に芸術をみることを拒んでいるのであろう．そうなのだ．芸術は人間のものであるがゆえに目的そのものなのだ．たしかに確固たる現存世界そのものなのだ．したがって，芸術表現という営為の過程は，世界をのぞきみること・望むこと・旅することの断絶である．（想像力の展開する世界でのありようでありながらも，なお人間そのものの行為が疎介するがゆえに，幻影の自由でなくして）自由の現存となりうる可能性があるのではないかと，わたしは秘かに考えるのである．ひきつづきわたしは，世界をのぞきみることと旅することの断絶が，人間の現存の時間的継起と空間・空間的伸張と収縮をふくむために，しばしば，社会的肉体＝人間をして，かれの自由なたたずまいを抑制する事態への直面を強いることを思うのである．

ここでわたしは，――明治44年の幸徳事件が当時の文学者に及ぼした強い衝撃にたいする，まったく対照的な二つの反応につねにたちかえりつつ自己検証していることを告白しなければならない．

石川啄木が鋭く指摘したように，当時の，見てくれは活ばつだった自然主義運動は，「自己否定的」内容と「自己主張的」内容という，およそ相反する要素の混淆であったが，そうした矛盾ゆえに，幸徳事件を頂点とする明治末の国家権力の集中と資本主義の異常な発達につれて，その弱点を露わにしてしまい，しだいに耽美主義や白樺派の堅天的な人生主義にとって代わられることになったのは周知であろう．ここにも典型的な〝意識の高揚〟がみてとれるように思われる．こうした主体くずれに似た推移のなかで，それに誠実な文学者として，いや健気な常民のひとりとして，せいいっぱい抗したのが石川啄木である．幸徳事件からうけた衝撃にふれてかれは，ある書簡のなかで，現在の社会組織，経済組織，家族制度などをそのままにしておいて，自分だけ合理的生活を建設しようとしてもむだだと書いている．かれはすでに，幸徳秋水らが拘引された43年６月に先んずること約半年の42年に，「従来及び現在の世界を被察するに当つて，道徳の性質及び発達を国家といふ組織から分離して考えることは，極めて明白な誤謬である。」といいきっている．43年８月21日の日記に，「何がなしに　肺が小さくなれる如く思ひて起きぬ――秋近き朝。」　首を記しているように，病いを哀切に意識する状態にありながらも，啄木は，間もなく自己の現実をきっぱり対峙する精神の緊張を具象しながら，『時代閉塞の現状――（強権，純粋自然主義の最後及び明日の考察）』を書いた．そこでは，厳密に大胆に自由に社会の閉塞する「今日」を研究して自身にとっての「明日」の必要を発見すべきだと主張されている．

――「我々は一斉に起つて先づ此時代閉塞の現状に完戦しなければならぬ．自然主義を捨て，百日の反抗と元禄の回顧とを擲めて全精神を明日の考察――我々自身の時代に対する組織的考察に傾注しなければならぬのである。」

啄木の健全さへの意向は，たとえば，『時代閉塞の現状』より半年ほどまえ（幸徳事件がおこるまえ）に書かれた『性急な思想』にもっともはっきりあらわれている．この一文の中ほどはこうである．

「……（たとえ近時作る人が一引用者）近代人の資格は神経の鋭敏といふことであると遂行して，（中略）其不健全を誇み，且つ詩り，更に，其不健全な状態を易進すべき色々の手段を採つて得意になるとしたら，どうであろう．……もしまた，さうしなければいわゆる『新しい詩』『新しい文学』は生れぬものとすれば，さういふ詩，さういふ文学は，われわれ　一歩くとも私のやうに，健康と長寿とを欲し，自己及自己の生活（人間及人間の生活）を出来るだけ改善しやうとしてゐる者にとつては，むやみに強烈な酒，路上でやる交接を遂げたさうな顔をしてゐる女，などと共に，全然不必要なものでなければならぬ．時代の病点を共有してゐるということは，いかなる場合のいかなる意味において も，且ついかなる人に取つても決して名誉ではない。」[註18]

筆者自身が自丸点を附している箇処など，――やはり，かれがだすさおった，文学表現が現実をまるごと引き請ける結果，ありていの人間が陥く理想をつきくずす矛盾にまっこうからたち向かうことを発条として行なわれるという迂路を通らねばならないことと比較するとき，性急な考え方となるのだから，同種はいっそうこんぐらがってくる．

啄木が，そのブチ・ブルジョアぶりをつよく批判した永井荷風は，パリ遊学から帰国して数年後にでくわした幸徳事件が自己にもたらした感慨を大正８年に回想してつぎのように書く．

「明治44年慶応義塾に通勤する頃，わたしはその道すがら折々市ケ谷の通で囚人馬車が５，６台も引続いて日比谷の裁判所の方へ走つて行くのを見た．わたしはこれ迄見聞した世上の事件の中で，この折程云ふに云はれない厭な心持のしたことはなかつた．わたしは文学者たる以上この思想問題について黙していてはならない．小説家ゾラはドレフュー事件について正義を叫んだ為め國外に亡命したではないか．しかしわたしは世の文学者と共に何も言はなかつた．私は何となく良心の苛責に堪へられぬやうな気がした．わたしは自ら文学者たることについてはなはだしき羞恥を感じた．以来わたしは自分の芸術の品位を江戸戯作者のなした程度まで引下げるに如くはないと思案した．そのころからわたしは煙草入れをさげ浮世絵を集め三味線をひきはじめた．わたしは江戸末代の戯作者や浮世絵師が浦賀へ黒船が来ようが桜田御門で大老が暗殺されやうがそれなことには下民の与り知つたことではないといふ――否とやかく申すのは却て畏多いことだと，すましく事々や春画をかいてみたその時間の胸中とは笑れるよりは寧ろ尊敬しやうと思立つたのである。」[註19]

荷風がこのようにしてしたためた断立や決意，その悲愉さも，臼井吉見氏がいうように，強面どおりうけとるわけにはいかないかもしれない．だが，荷風一流の諧謔を割引き，一般的にみたばあい，考えさせられることが多い．啄木がもし生き永らえていたら，口をきわめて盲罵したであろうところの，意識の堕落はここに明白だ．荷風のばあいに加えて，木下杢太郎や北原白秋らを中心とする『パンの会』（明治41年に結成されほぼ４年つづいた）における「異国情調」の歌いあげと官能的な情緒への耽溺を思いあわせれば，明治末に文学者たちが共有していた精神圏のありようがいっそうはっきりしてくるのではないかと思う．杢太郎は，昭和７年に，当時のことを回想した一文のなかで，「パンの会は一面放縦なところもあったが，畢竟するに一の文芸運動で，因循な封建時代の遺風に反対する依化主義運動であった。」と書いているが，封建時代の遺風に反対する姿勢と方法とがなお問題であるだろう．独特なニュアンスをこめて杢太郎がつくりだした，かれらのエキゾチシズムを意味する「異国情調」は，「江戸情調」と表裏の関係をなし，浮世絵趣味といいかえられるデカダンスの感情であった．[註20] 現実社会の構造がどのようであるかを念頭においてみれば，デカダンスへののめりこみが体現する意味もつねに相対的にとらえねばならず，その矛盾と迷妄は十分芸術表現の原動力たりうるばあいもあって，その悪魔性を無視するわけにゆかぬ．けれども，「パンの会」にみられるような，また荷風の一文に予感されているデカダンスにおいて人間のぜんめん的「自由」はやはり歪められ抑圧されているとみなすべきだろう．いずれにせよ，ふたつのばあいは，ほんらいの感情がなにものかの他の擬似的なものにすりかえられて，個錨的に興奮しているさまを思わせる．

★

ここでまた，人間が類的存在であること，そのことをまるごと引き請けた上での「自由」

註17　古本時男「社会主義リアリズム論批判」・「実現と若干の所収．

註18　以前のわたしは，やはりこの部分を引きながら，同じ問題をもちながら両者から遠ざかり「正面されるべき社会関係下の自由」・「現代詩手帖」1967年12月号）．また別のメモ・ノート風の生活者としての姿勢と現代芸術とを比較したことがある．――「芸術家の実験をその発端において考えてみるに，実際かにプロテストしたとき，それはおおかれ必得多くの人が表現した作品をの姿としてあるのが一般である．しかし，現代芸術は，感情移入に訴えるところを上くみながらそれを大きく超越したところから出発したのだ．」（「くたばれ小市民的芸術観」・「SD」1967年12月号）

註19　岩波文庫・『石川啄木詩集』中の『花火』より
の短篇は明治33年の雑誌等不収録作．大逆事件．日
お年頃30年代，日露戦争　幸徳事件，大正３年の新
現代事件，大正４年頃仕式収録作，大正７年全集収
記念祝日の６事件を最年的，概括している．岡文献の
つ幸徳逆生物は，「幸徳事件に触れている箇所がふる
特に意人の話目をおいているようではふるが，これ
ただ，荷風の社会的意識とかするのはやや早計
って，これを鬼の鬱屈，たとえば明仕式収録作の
雪の月間に対する反抗の最行などと同じく，むしろ
日本人に顕在化しの心身理性史と併のようとする
みること　と思っている
わたしは不能性で知らず調べないとともなかったの
和田謹吾さんこうした荷風の情緒的な入たときの
重荒をもつか．ことのほか興味がある．自分の解釈
自ごのおいてあります

註20　野田宇太郎『パンの会』による．――「日露戦
東京において現在ゆくこの戸の名残を惜む感傷は，
悉る景気の心理に絶えずうごめいていた影であった
う．しかし，過酷的な状態はその反面の新しい歓風
で中く実現を見てる世年であった．つまり江戸情調
にとっては様な趣味ではなくて異国情調にすぎなか
である．

のあり方をわたしは考える。そして、さきにその言葉をひいた詩人が、また別の一文を、「わたしが、詩を創造する方法を問われたら、わたしは自身の現実認識にあくまでも固執しながら、その現実認識をどこまでも相対化する方向に表現の問題をかんがえ、両外された人間としての自己意識を社会的課題にもかかわけようと努力することたえるほかは ない。」と結んでいるのをおもいおこすことである。同じ一文の少しまえに、〈非常にふくみのある一節なので正確に理解するには心もとなく、ただひとつのいい方として引くのだが〉、「あくまでも社会の時代的な抑圧や制約を下げなさず、これにたいする洞察や抵抗感から表現の問題に移行しながら、そこに抑圧や制約のない社会で開花すべき人間の感覚や思想が下感的に表現されているとき、わたしたちには、そのような文学を芸術的価値ある作品とよぶらいいのだ。」（傍点岡田）という言葉があるのだが、上のようにいわれる洞察や抵抗感から表現の問題に「移行しながら」形成してゆくものではないだろう、芸術というものは、移行するのではなくて、表現の行為者は、現実を生きる感情の裏であるせつなさをそのまま結晶するというのがあるべき過程ではなかろうか。

せつないという感情が自身の息を呼吸し生成してゆくとき、そのすすみ方がそれなりのベクトルをもつとすれば、〈一見唐突だが〉その結晶への志向は孵塾とさっかり対応するにちがいない。せつないという感情が、ある意味で〈自離〉の意識から派生するものであり、なにものかとの疎隔をうめたいという切迫した欲求の主調和音であり、対象との、交通〉への意志と所有への合体への意志とをふくむと考えるなら、孵塾の感情の最たるものが、〈愛〉への自我な感情であるといってもけっして唐突ではないだろう。そのはてにたすばれるのは、〈天上的で永遠な両性・「人間」の本質像〉である。

「我と汝の愛の統一の中に、そしてむしろその中においてのみ人は彼の豊かな可能性を余すところなく実現し得るのであり、無限と永遠の体験及び彼の地盤の故郷性の経験にまで自らを拡大するのである。L・ビンスワンゲルはヤスパースの表現と全く同様な言葉で次の如くいう。この故郷性に守護され彼の地盤の上に立って、また彼の可能性の全ての豊富さに充たされて、恋する人としての人間は自分自身のみならず彼の相手をも最早や単に有限の具体的で個々の滅ぶ可き現象とはみない。むしろ恋する我と汝及びその両者を通じて、全世界は欲求と意図をもたない完全な静止した人間の永遠且つ根源的本質像にまで透明となるのである。それだから恋愛において而して恋愛においてのみ、二つのものすなわち滅ぶべき内容と永遠の形式、事実と本相、被写と原因は真に統一され体験されるのである。」光にみちあふれるだろう愛の透視にまでいたった孵塾は、たしかに過去へ向かうにちがいないとしてもそれは根源への方向であり、それが真に自由な現存でありうるばあいは、透視はもうひとつの機能たる未来の予見を孕みつつ定べきとなる。だから透視が自由な実践をうながし実践は現実の社会構造の物理的な変革につきいってゆくと考えるべきである。せつなさをきっかけとする、孵塾と予見とはしかし、じっさいの現実に忍きおこるとき、はじめからみごとな統一と融和を予定しているなどということはありえない。現実には、孵塾と予見とはひきあい反撥しあう。高い激発力としての矛盾をだきかかえながらの、反対感情と反対意志との併存する場であろう。この場をはっきりと設定＝意識化することが、ある意味では、〈見ること〉の指であり、あえかでありながら（いや透明であえかであるが）ゆえにといいなおすべきか）自己を衝迫することをやめぬ対象とそれへの距離を意識化することとしての、〈影像の所有〉なのである。ここにこそ――（その行為者が自由の現存であるならば）現実を記離し・表現し・励起した映像を実現する種類の写真の根拠があるのであって、光と影の結晶としてのスペルマを享けとる書をもってその未知の世界を妊孕させたときはじめて写真が歴史にコミットしたといいうるのではあるまいか。

ところで、未知の世界を妊孕するということは、もちろん明るい平安が予兆しているということでは必ずしもない。〝未知の〟と限定しているのは、この意味のほかではない。それは、現実だと意識されている遠慮としての現実を内発的な暴力によってすっかり破壊してしまうこともある。というより、きゅうきょくには現実を破壊してしまう。励起した影像の実現とそれの働きかけによる未知の世界の妊孕という全過程にすでに、そうした悪魔性が体現されているのである。せつないという心情の持続的な展開と影像蒐集力とを根こそぎ破壊してしまうような力もまた、悪魔性のもつ権能のひとつである。ジョルジュ・バタイユは、たぶんこれと基本的に同じことについて説明するのに、つぎのような表現を採る。「文学の表現するものとは、まさしく悪――悪の極限の形態――なのだが、その悪こそ、わたしたちにとって至高の価値をもつものだとわたしは考えている。」

つきつめて考えてみなくても、たとえば一コの励起した影像を孕む行為のなかで、われわれはそれのほのめかしを享けとるのだが、〈自由の現存〉も、それ自身を破砕する悪魔を宿しているのだ、ということは、わたしたちのめざし、かつ試みつつある営為が、〈ここで波相な面をわざとらしく拡大することは避けよう〉ほんらい的に、生の力学ともいうべきものの展開に似た局面をそなえているということでもある。もうわたしは、この機会にいおうとし、みずからをしていわしめようとすることをあらかたいってしまったようにみえる。けれども考えてみるがいい。いってしまえることが（もし）できるくらいなら、それはとるにたらないことだ。――〈自由の現存〉がそれ自身を破砕する悪魔を宿している、のはいいとしよう。つぎの行から問題となるのは、想像力が自発的に形成するどんな容れもの・どんな結晶体・どんな光と影の映発が、この悪魔の、劇並たるエナージーと息づかいとを転位して、あの〝清澄天使〟を翔びたたせるかということである。

註21 吉本隆明「文学的表現について」・傍点原

註22 ここでシラーが「崇高と感動の文学」で展開した概念のおおいかくされた……マス・ヤーコプソンという言葉を使い、自我の拡張と解放の感情を通しての体験と所在するための、第2の……ように……によって、人間が、人間のはたらいている書かさと既……性とをもの、感想を表現しようとする精神の……の……を問わる書とするこの基本動作調子と……、……、……、……感念とともに変化したものである「崇高感情」でしまう。シラーにとって「美」が……現象における自由」にほかならなかったことも想起しておこう（ヤコブス前掲

註23 ノヴァリース「哲的断篇」「哲的断篇の素描とその他」。恋愛現象の精神病理学への関係は分析的筆り、本題だけをつかみ、附ネ「哲的断篇」より

註24 前掲「哲的断篇」より。

対象にふさわしい……ことを……ように、自我の拡張と解放の感情を通しての体験と所在するための、第2の……ように……によって、人間が、人間のはたらいている書かさと既……性とをもの、感想を表現しようとする精神の……の……を問わる書とするこの基本動作調子と……、……、……、……感念とともに変化したものである「崇高感情」でしまう。シラーにとって「美」が……現象における自由」にほかならなかったことも想起しておこう（ヤコブス前掲

註25 影像を意識化するといっても、まことに抽象的である。〈影像〉を意識するとき、われは同時に、いわゆる人間の空間加実の限度かうして、せつないく心情を感じるだろう。また一方、現実と認識との関係にあっては、対象をすりとったりよせ・引きつけるという働きかけをおこなう。この点、メルロー＝ポンティが「眼と精神」（滝浦・木田訳筑摩）のなかで、画家のかかわり方において〈見る〉ことによれている関係は示唆的である。

「画家の注界は目に見える世界、目に見える以外の何ものでもない世界であり、そしてこれは、むしろ部分的であることによってしか完全たり見ないのであるから、ほとんど幻覚の世界だと言ってよい。絵画は視覚という謎をより謎とし、謎のカをよるってそれを解釈する、謎とよったのは、〈見る〉ということが〈遠在で待つ〉ということであり、そして絵画とはこの奇妙な所有権を存在のあらゆる象徴に対し獲得するものだからである。存在の全象徴がこの所有のうちに入ることがのには、それらは何らかの形で見えるようにならなければならない。

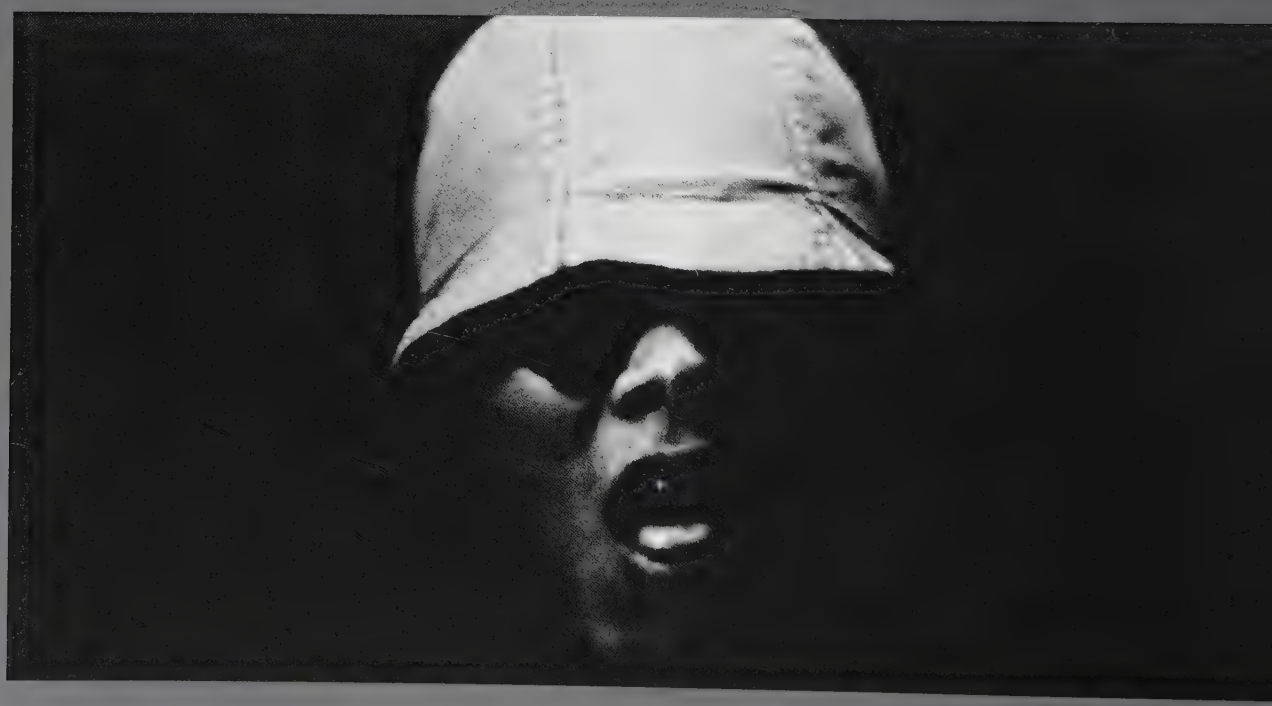
註26 山本功氏訳『文学と悪』による。

わたしは、マックス・ヴェーバーについて論じた、カール・シーヴェットの「学問」による魔術からの世界の解放」（岩波・現代）を読んで、ヴェーバーが、美と倫理的な善の一致というような考え方に対していて、つぎのようにいっているのを知っておどろいた。

「あるものは美しくなくとも神聖でありうるばかりでなく、むしろそれが美しくない場合にこそそれが美しくない限りにおいて、それは神聖でありうるのだということを、われわれは今日ただただ知るにいたっている。（中略）また、あるものは善ではないがゆえに美しくありうるというのみでなく、むしろそれが善でないというまさしくその点において美しくありうるということ、これはニーチェ以来われわれふたたび知るにいたって居り、またすでにボードレールの具象『悪の華』のうちにも感受されているものである。あるものが美しくもなく、神聖でもなく、善でもないけれども、真でありうる、いやそれゆえにこそ真でありうるのだというのは、ひとつの日常的知恵である。」

1968・夏・I
多木浩二

アメリカでも大きな黒人暴動はなかった　山谷でも6月に起ったきり、夏は静かに流れていった。しかし、いたるところに不穏があった　ほとんど季節もなく、時間も流れていないような戻坑では、存在がその充実と欠落をさらけていた。大学では、夏休み中バリケードのなかで学生たちはもちこたえた。そこに暗い血のような実存があ　た。街のなかでも、だれにも気づかないような露路のなかでストライキが行われ、労働者と暴力団とが乱闘をくりかえしていた。風が吹きはじめた。われらの魂をゆさぶり、苦痛な目ざめを強いている



1968・夏・2
高梨 豊

天然色フイルムをまわし、ストロボの太陽を輝かせて2ヵ月間にわたるカレンダーの撮影はおわる。いわば季節の先取りである。電線をさけ、コカ・コーラの空きビンをフレイム・アウトする作業時間のうちに浮遊する自分の原風を定着した。文明の四季である。

明治天皇行在所記念碑

NORIYA

1968・夏・3
中平卓馬

クスリの龍生堂

覚え書・1—知の頽廃

多木浩二

1

「知の頽廃」というテーマは，かなり以前から私のなかにあった．しかし知とはあいまいで定義しにくい概念である．知とは文化のイデオロギーであり，その源泉も対象も人間である，といった二重構造をもつといってみても正確ではない．いわば知は，あちらからもこちらからもあらわれ，またわれわれの内部にもあるので，私はそれにふさわしい適確な言葉をみつけることができないだろうし，以下の，それについてのメモも論理的には一貫していないかもしれない．

たとえば，研究活動や芸術の創作が日常の生活とはちがった系を構成していることはいうまでもない．それらの個別の領域にそれぞれの自律性をあたえているのも知である．これを意識的にうけとって，自らの存在原理—イデオロギーにしているのが知識人である．知識人は自己の内面性からこの知をとりだしたと考えているが，実は文化の方からうけとっているものであり，さらにさまざまな知のかなたに総体としての知がある．これらの知が，いまや，いたるところで破綻を起しはじめた．状況が顕在化しはじめたからである．それが，個々の知識人の知を検証する役割を果しているのだ．知識人のイデオロギーとしての知が，果して今日において知とよぶにふさわしいかどうかが問題になってきたのである．

よい例が今日の大学紛争である．たとえば東大の教授のなかには，すぐれた思想家もいる筈であるが，いま起りつつある事態に対して自己の生命をかけた発言もきかれないのはその本質を把握できないでいるのだろうか，理解を絶することである．学生は[redacted]には制度という表象を批判しているが，かれらの行動の背後にはより深い批判がひそんでいる．大学の深層構造としての，個々の教師によって生きられた「知」の頽廃が，学生たちによって痛烈に批判されているのである．そしてこのような知によって組織される教育や研究への根本的否認がよこたわっていることに注目しなければならない．

今日のビッグ・サイエンスが，軍事・産業・国家の資本との野合なしでは研究も開発も不可能であることは自明であるが，それは，これらの研究を支える知が個別的な科学の領域の理論や知識としてのみあらわれ，人間と世界を全体化するものとしての知へ向おうとしないことを示している．研究や芸術が，それ自体，自立することは認めても，個々の系の論理も人間がつくりだしたものであり，人間以前にあったものではない．かれらの知が全体性を欠き，人間の文化の全構造とそのなかを生きていく人間存在とを全体としてとらえようとするものでないなら，それだけは完結していると思われた個別科学の構造自体も疑わしくなってくるのである．そのような構造，そのような知のもとでは「産学協同」とか「米軍資金の導入」とかは全く疑問なしに行われる．私が性急な論理を進めているとは思われたくない．一見，科学的合理性をそなえていると思われる理論の欠陥が，このような知の欠落から生じていることが少くない．

ところが，実はもし個別に立てこもるなら異質の系の関係が露呈してくるスキマがあったのであり，このスキマに気づいたときから，個別から出発した研究者，表現者は，さまざまな知や理論のあいだには全体化すべきなにかがあり，あらゆるものに対する価値の基準をひきだすべき彼岸があることを発見する契機に出あっていた筈である．矛盾があらかじめ偽りの知によって現実に融合されていることに問題がある．「知」が現実にあると思いこんでいるのかもしれない．だが「全体知」はまだここらにはない．彼岸であり，われわれはそれに向っての全体化を求めるだけである．一見意外なことに不可知論がこのような誤りだけは避けられているのも，現実的な融合を最初から放棄しているからである．

私は「政治性」の欠落などをさしているのではない．知の問題は，もっと深い，あるいはもっとひろい意味で考えられねばならないし，芸術家，デザイナー，写真家，研究者などのすべて

の行為が革命 ――すなわち政治的変革のためであるという幻想をのべているわけではない。人間的事象とは多様で、豊かで、きわめて矛盾にとんだものだと考えているし、そこに、私は、直接のみがとりだしうるひとつの絶対的本質を見出すのだ。このような具体的人間がともかくも生きていくという事実を除外して、いかなる革命も成立たない。

ついでながら、私たちが「プロヴォーク」といったとき、政治的挑発とうけとられてはならないことをのべておく。私たちの映像が挑発しうる領域のなかに政治があきらかに位置づけられるが、私たちの挑発しようとする領域はそれをこえてもっと下方にある否定的な領域にまで及んでいる。あるいは、われわれ自身が否定的なものになり切ることで挑発しうるものがあると考えてもいる。われわれは素朴な人間ではない。われわれが現実と意識と映像のあいだにたくわえているソフィスティケーションは、ある人たちにとっては必要のないものかもしれない。

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Ⅱ

だがどうしても、私には「人間とはなにか」を自分に明らかにしたい気持はのこる。そして私が何かをなそうとするときその根源はいったいなにかと思い、また、あらゆる試みが、結局は、われわれ自身の「無」によってだめになるのだと感じている。この「無」は人間の意識が、分析的であり因果律を追いもとめるかぎりその極限にあらわれてくるものであった。たとえば、人はランボーをあげるだろう。見出された無においては、「意識」は「存在」を確立することはできなかった。いってみればそれはルネッサンス以来の人間主義の挫折であった。とつぜんまったく人間は無であり、反人間的なものがわれわれをとりまいていることが理解される。世界を人間と同型のものと考えてきたことの、同時に人間を世界と同型のものと考えてきたことの、破産だった。人間が「世界のなかにある」限り、人間は意識によって自分を描ききれない。人間はひらいており、知覚されず、意識されないものとして世界の部分であり、しかも人間は個として絶対に他者ではなく、生きている具体性である。人間とは、結局それ自体としては完結していないのだ。私に「理論的」という言葉がもどってくるのもこの地点からなのである。「知」とは、このような世界と人間の全体性をとらえる理論への努力であり、その努力の果に知そのものではないが、それに対応するものとしてイデオロギーがあるのではないか。それはランボーが融破したところから出発するものであり、「無」をこえていくことである。だから私にとってニヒリズムは根源的なものだし、それ故にニヒルや絶望にむしばまれた自己だけが頼りであるが、同時にそれは、もはや私の主張にはならない。

私が肉体をもつのと同じくらい、私は、はじめから空しいのだ。私にはその無を発見する意識、われわれ自身を分解しつくして何ものものこさぬ意識が、実はわれわれの外に、われわれの否定性として、超越として存在している世界の構造とはかかわりないかもしれないと思ったときに、さきのべたような人間の存在の「理論化」の意味が理解されはじめた。世界は歴史と状況をその不可視的な構造の表象としても、同時に絶対とよぶよりほかはない人間が存在する。人間の側からいえば、それは可視的な諸関係を追い、自己の同型を世界に転位させることからは何もえられないことの自覚、つまりわれわれ自身の無意識としてあるおそろしくやり切れない矛盾と断絶としてあらわれる。この意識された自己と意識されない世界、という二元性ののりこえのなかにしか、人間は存在しない。われわれに世界が「見えてこない」のはわれわれのせいで なくて世界というものの本質なのだ。われわれは絶望しかえられない。しかも人間は決して終りがないのりこえの連続としてありうるだけである。

こののりこえを投企というが、実はこの投企は、ただ「……故に」といいう連続性のない構造をもつだけで、決して無目的な賭ではないのだ。「……に向って」とのみ規定される行為であり、世界のなかにある人間を、「ひとりの具体的な人間」として回復させうる契機なのである。具体的な人間とは肉体と情念の真実性をもつものことである。われわれは「見えない」から「とぶ」のではない。「見えない」ものの理論化 のなかに「何にむかって」自らを存在させるかをきめようとすることを「知」とよびたいのである。

3

エットーレ・ソットサスというイタリアのデザイナーが、ベトナムの滾い泊の上を渡って逃げていくゲリラの姿をうつした写真をみて、世界のどこかにひとりのこういう人間がある限り、美とはいったいなにものなのだというような痛切な言葉を記している。この深刻な言葉から、かれのいいようなく純粋な実在に達する美のソフィスティケーションがはじまっている。彼のデザインは、実は知の全体化作用ともよべるものを背景にしていたのだ。

また、現代美術が――ダンカンジェーロにしろ、リヒテンシュタインにしろ―― あからさまに虚像でありながらいいようなく具体的で、形容詞の見つからないような表象へ到達するのを、私はただの表現上の発展とは思えない。まったく不条理にそこにあるものが、外側の空間に、そこにあらわされていないものとしての「全体知」をよびさますものをもっているのだ。

われわれの内部で何が起っているかを見出そう。われわれはなにを衰ったか。

ソットサスは結局のところ、美がダメであることを知っている 。かれは同じ文章でしばしば過ぎの誘惑を語っている。どこか海のなかの島を買ってそこにねそべってなにもしないでいたいと。だが、それは、かれの全体化する知のうらがえしなのである。

全体知とは痛ましいものだ。なぜなら、そこで、人間は自分がどのような自己完成へ向おうと、この世界にいる限りダメであることを知り、自己とは自己にさしむけた意識のまえに空虚で、自分のつくりだした世界によって致命的な損傷をうけていることを知るのである。

このような認識が、今日の「知」を構成する基盤である。われわれはそこからしか、生き方も、芸術も表現もひきだせない。

人間がいい気でいられたのは「全体知」が手もとにあった時代である。サルトルがいうように「哲学とはまず興隆期にある階級が自己についての意識をもつ仕方」であり、ブルジョワジーの哲学、すなわち普遍性の神話が知としての位置をあたえられていた時代までであった。いまでも、このブルジョワイデオロギーとしての知にとどまることはできる。なぜなら世界はいまなおブルジョワジーの支配の下にあるからである。EXPO'70のテーマが「人間の進歩と調和」になったのは、ことばの遊びでもなければ、無私からでもない。正しく、かれらのイデオロギーの帰結なのである。

たとえば丹下健三はEXPO'70 の全躰的な存在であるが、かれの歩みをみてみると、このブルジョワイデオロギーの必然なる現をつづけてきたことが明らかになる。かれの空間は全体化するものでなく、見かけの全体からはじまるという批評がしばしばなされるのは正当である。かれが、「全体知」という果さない努力をつづけるのでなく、実は単純な「個」の原理でしかないイデオロギーを全体にすりかえている以上かれはどのような数寄や才能に飾られていても、全体はあらわれず、意外にも個性だけがよりどころとなる。このイデオロギーが崩壊すれば、かれの空間も崩壊して個性の残骸となる。

したがってかれ及びかれのエコールからどのような未来への絵画が、今後とも生まれてこようと、それが未来へ向う真の知的 態りをうけない以上、人間に見かけ以上の不真的な新しさをもたらしはしない。かれらの知は、個別化された領域にならまだ有効性をもちうるかもしれない。が、個別的な場でも、それは

技術としての役割を果たすだけであり、しかも人間と世界に対する哲学の欠落は、この技術をやがて無効にしてしまうにちがいないのである。

私は、ある時、ひとりの建築家の作家論のなかで、閉じること定結すること、ひたすら内側にだけ自律的な空間を創造しようとしていることを高く評価した。それは、閉じることで、はんど絶対化する空間の外側から、完結しようとすればするほ

その空間にひとつの余白があることがあきらかになり、その余白に果さねばならぬものとしての全体化の予告がすでにあらわれかけていたからである。それはかれがいま自らの知の活動する領域を仮設として限定しているからであり、それと全体とのあいだの断絶を意識し、その彼岸に未知なるものとしての全体化をおいているからのことであった。その方法にはリアリティがある。それは「さあ、さあ情報時代がやってきました。コンピューターがレジャーをうみだし、そこでは自由なデザインが可能です」などと説いてまわる社会学者などにはわかりっこないことなのである。

くりかえしていうが、問題はわれわれの内部のことなのである。

4

現代のデザインは、われわれにもうなにものももたらさないだろう。ヴァリエーションは可能であり、リファインの度合は高まるだろう。私は現代デザインを除し、かつその総体的なプラクシスのなかからうかびあがるものとしての知を否定せざるを得ない。現代デザインの知は、象徴的に未来論に収斂するが、この未来論は結局のところ、人間を全的に解放しようなどとは夢にも思っていないのだ。夢とか象徴とか実存とかいうヴォキャブラリーをもっているが、これらはまやかしにすぎない。関心があるのはシステムだけであり、このシステムが「人間のため」だと思いこんでいる。ところが、システムとは人間を窮極的には消去してしまうものである。少くともその構造についての明知をもつとき、そのアンチ・ヒューマニズムは、構造と実存とのあいだの背反をうかびあがらせる鋭いメスの役割をはたし、それは、全体化への契機をつかむことを可能にするのだ。

このような知がアンチ・ヒューマニズムのイデオロギーとして、デザインの領域で猖獗化しないのは、デザインが実用をとおしてつねに人間を背定してきたのだという錯覚があるからである。実用でさえ両義的であるのだ。だから「人間は存在しない」存在させられるだけだ」という認識も有効性をもつ。かつて、機能を決定因としてとりあげたとき、それは人間の解放とパラレルであった。しかし、いま幽数の函数の函数といったものを全体を計画する構造としてとりだそうとするなら、それはヒューマニズムとはもはや何のかかわりもない。人間は計量の対象であり、この計量からこぼれおちるものは、計画の決定因でない。色、かたち、光などがゲミュートとして人間性に対置するのだといいうるだろうか。

それは数学と造型の温同なのだ。

現代デザインは多次元化した機能主義でしかない。しかし、もし、それが反人間的構造を明確にすることができるなら、それはむしろ「知の都廃」とはいえない。頽廃はこれを人間主義とすりかえるところからはじまっている。

新しいデザインは、反人間的構造と具体的な実存の背反そのものののなかに新しい構造をもつ. 計測されるものとされないものとの峻別と、計測されないものの新しい合理性のみきわめが前提される. そしてこれらの研究と実践に正しい枠組と可能性をあたえるのが、これまでに触れてきた全体化する知である.

グラフィック・デザインでも事情は同じである. デザイナーは口吾はともかく、人間の全体化する知のもとでデザインを考慮しようとしない. 個別的な<表現>への問題、すべてを感覚的表象の領域にかぎってしまうのである. それは円環をとじてしまうことであり、日宜美展は壊構に化してしまったデザインの博物館になるわけである.

はじめから壊構を主張するなら、それは美術として再生しうるだろう. デザインのかたちのなかに美術の追従があらわれるのは模倣ではなくて意識の当然の結果なのである.

しかし、私にとって美術とは、美がダメなのを知りつつ、ギリギリの記号を人間とその世界のためにおくるものである. 私は美術に全体知からの信号をききとる.

私は日宜美展に反戦ポスターを書いて出したデザイナーのなかで、それが無効であるという痛烈な自覚をもった人がいたかどうかを疑う. 先にあげたソットサスのように、泥をわたって逃げていくひとりのベトナム人の存在にまで意識をひろげ、世界とおのれ自身の存在を全体化してとらえようとしたら、anti-war という言葉が、どれほど空虚なものであったかを知る筈である. 反戦ポスターを書いてはいけないなどといってはいない. しかし、この空虚さに耐えて anti-war とかきこむためには、グラフィック・デザインのリアリティ、――つまりコミュニケーションを自己のプラクシスとして実現化しなければならない筈である. それを実践的に解決するのでなければ、反戦ポスターをかくことは「知の頽廃」以外のなにものでもない. かれらはおのれの名前を書き入れている. この署名のおそろしさ、それが世界へ向って生きられた自己をさしだすことだということを自覚しない. 日宜美展は「知の墓場」であり、その意味でなによりもダメだ. グラフィック・デザインではコミュニケーションのレベルでの解放がはじまらねばならない. 一枚のポスターを、視覚表象という個別の領域にとじこめることからのこるのは、技術であり、リアリティは変りようがない. それは、はじめから全体知をめざし、不条理にみちた具体物という記号をつくりだす英術のあとを追うだけである.

しかし、コミュニケーションを、商品の流通機構から、人間のものへと奪いかえすことが、コミュニケーショナル・デザインとしての翻生を可能にする基礎的な条件である. デザイナーが、全体化しようとする知によって生きるかぎり、情報技術でも表現技術でも解決のつかない壁に、世界と存在の背反という壁にぶつかる. おのれの主体のプラクシスを通じてしか、その壁はのりこえられない. そのとき、メッセージはリアリティをもちはじめ、デザインの構造がかわりはじめる.

メディアを察回すること、もしできなければつくりだすこと、それしか現代において人間から人間へのコミュニケーションを開く道はない. デザインが、最低限この本質的な疎外からの回復をはかることを企てないなら、それは資本主義のイデオロギーを構造とし、人間と世界とのなかにある矛盾を根源とした構造をもちとうとしないからである. 日宜美展に出す反戦ポスターが存在としての発言であると錯覚することは最悪の事態だ.

自らの手でポスターをつくり、それを街頭に貼るプラクシスを通じて、デザインを蘇生させようとしている若い人たちもいる. これを政治主義と考えるのは誤りである. かれらは、デザインを全体知のなかでとらえようとしているのだ. いいかえれば、かれらはひとつには絶対としかいいようのない個の存在があり、同時にそれが世界の構造性のなかで消えてしまうという二律背反の把握からはじまり、この知の照明のもとでは、これまでデザインとよばれてきたものがただの個別的な技術でしかないことが明らかになってきた以上、どのようにささやかであり、マーシャルの夢かさに比べてみじめにみえようと、メディアを自らの手にとりかえし、コミュニケーションの回復を努力するという方法をえらばないわけにはいかなかったのである. 私はその方法のなかにデザイナーの復権をみる.

Ⅱ

知の頽廃はいま大学を蔽いつくしている. 象徴的な存在である東京大学はいまの構造をもちつづける限り崩壊すべきである. 今日において、大学という教育のメディアに意味があるかないかも検討すべきだが、少くとも東大が崩壊することによって贈した「知」そのものへの告題はひとつの地歩を印したことになる.

同様に、頽廃が露出しているのが、EXPO'70 である. 万博ほど今日における知の問題を考えるにふさわしい主題はない. それは、世界と人間についての全体知についての考察が再び破産論をよびさまし、それによってイデオロギーとしての知が決定づけられるのを実証する場でもある.

万博は、2つの意味を今日の日本においてもっている.

第一にそれはブルジョワイデオロギーによる文化の再編と強化である. それが万博をやろうとした最初の動機であるし、第二にそれを70年に開催しようとしたことは、安保闘争を考えに入れた戦略的な意味ももっていた. 第一の点は第二と深くかかわ

あっていて，全体として強力な資本の攻勢をかたちづくっている．それはまずあらゆる文化エリートを体制の側に再編しつくそうとしている．イデオローグは，万博の担い手としての文化エリートを位置づけて，万博の文明史的な意義としているが，それは結局，独占資本によって組織づけられた社会の構造を前提としている．体制側のこの作業は確実にすすみ，丹下健三を頂点とする大谷幸夫，磯崎新などを含む建築家のエリートたち，杉浦康平，粟津潔，福田繁雄などをはじめとするデザイナーたち，松本俊夫や勅使河原宏などの映画作家たち，さらに一方でベ平連などで活躍をする小松左京など，一切が万博へと組織されてしまった．のこっているのは，建築家にしろ，デザイナーにしろダメな部分であるという見方をする人もいる．

実はこういうなかで，もし万博を見るだけの全体知がかれらの生のかたにあれば，万博がかれらにさしだしている問題の根源さに気づく筈である．たとえばデザインがもしコミュニケーションの回路であるなら，そして，かれらのなかに歴史的にも理論的にも（また現実的にも）正確な人民（世界のなかにある人間として）のイメージがあるなら万博によるコミュニケーションのネットワークが人間を文化へ向って組織する，その文化とかコミュニケーションとかいうものへの根源的な苦悩があっていい筈である．テクノロジーにしてもそうだ．私は建築家やデザイナーはいま，ほとんど永久に復権する機会を貰ったと考える．それはかれらの内部において貰われたのであり，それだけに回復は不能である．

「貰するにお祭ですよ」というのを，私は EXPO '70 に参加しているデザイナーたちから何度もきいた．それは，大したことではないのだから，そう肩をたてるなという意味でもあり，そこで大へんな金が使えるから，「やりたいこと」を部分的にやればいいのだという意味でもある．

私は，ここに文化というものに対するかれらの認識を見るわけであり，かれらが「やりたい」ことというのは，この文化と根本的には矛盾しない――というよりニュートラルな――技術だけであり，それ故にもは空間貰なのであるといってよい．丹下健三のように戦後かなり早い時期から，貰み上げイデオロギーを明瞭にうちだし，それによって空間をさまざまにつくってきたブルジョワ社会の成功者がこれを主導するのは当然である．EXPO '70 に文化の第3のフロンティアをみるというイデオローグ加藤秀俊のような人はともかく，粟津潔や磯崎新などのもっている文化の概念がこの程度であるというのはやり切れない．かれらが EXPOSE '68 と銘うって打ったシンポジウムの批判に，私は，万博に決してあらわれないものが，人間の根源ともっともかかわり深く，EXPOSE '68 の諸断たちがやってみせた方法の虚しさを指摘した．それは，文化というものに対する思想の欠落を，つまりは救いがたい知の頽廃をみたからであった．

万博批判がいま困難な状況におちいっているのは，体制がコミュニケーションによって組織している大衆文化と民衆の文化との真の区別がうちたてられていないからである．ここでいう民衆とは，ひとりひとりの具体的な実存であり，自らの情念の真実さにおいて生き，現存する世界のイデオロギーとしての知のを配をうけない人々をさしている．知識人はこの文化の状況を明らかにする責任を知の名においてもっている．私たちはたたかいの困難さを痛感している．これらのすべてが，私たちを全体知へと向わせる．あらゆる領域において，それに向うものを挑発しなければならない．ひどく正直なソフィスティケーションによってさえも

編集後記

PROVOKE などと大げさな題名なので，もっと政治的で戦闘的なものと予想されたかもしれません．しかし，まずはこの通りのものになりました

――もちろん，あありればよかった．こうすればよかったという感想は表出ありますが，ここから出発する以外，外に道はなかった，というのが正直のところです．その意味ではぼくたち四人のそれぞれの原点の確認になっているはずです

――別山，佐世保，沖縄，米タンと時代は次第に政治的色彩を帯びてきました．まだそれはそのまま万博，安保の70年に向って直進し，そこで一つの頂点を迎えるはずです．その過程のなかで PROVOKE がどう変ってゆくか，また70年を越えた時に PROVOKE が一体どうなっているか，むしろそれに積極的にかけてゆきたいと思います．それが納知つまらないものであることがわかった時，その時にはいさぎよく廃刊する積りです．

――政治と芸術の関げきを，どう埋めるか，むろんこれは今でもアクチュアリティをもつ，古くて新しい問題です．しかしそれを原理的に解決することにはあまり関心をもちません．なぜなら言葉による性急な解決には必ず嘘がまじるはずですから．なによりもそれは歴史を生きることによってしか導き出されないはずですから．

――さしあたっては，政治と何かを割り出す行為との矛盾をそのままわが身にひきうけること．その緊張の中で生きること．これしかないと思います．これはぼくだけの個人的な立場ですが，積極的に政治的行為に参加することと，写真をとることとをはっきりこえるに導えて，行動してゆきたいのです．

――次号から森山大道が同人になります．PROVOKE のもつポテンシャリティーが一段と拡がることと期待して下さい．

（中平記）

Takanashi Yutaka, Nakahira Takuma, Taki Kōji, Okada Takahiko
"Preface"

The image in itself is not an idea. It cannot attain the totality of a concept, nor can it be a commutative sign like a word. Its irreversible materiality—a reality that has been detached by the camera—exists in a world opposite that of language, and because of this it sometimes provokes the world of language and concepts. In such instances, language transcends its fixed, conceptualized self, and is transformed into a new language, or rather a new idea.
Today, at this very moment, language is losing its material basis—in other words, its reality—and floating in space. We as photographers must capture with our own eyes fragments of reality that can no longer be grasped through existing language, and must actively put forth materials that address language and ideas. This is why we have been so bold as to give *Provoke* the subtitle Provocative Materials for Thought.

***Provoke 1*, November 1968. Translated by Christopher Stephens in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989: Primary Documents*, edited by Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya, and Fumihiko Sumitomo, 214. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012.**

276 プロヴォーク／季刊／2号／発行　1969・3・10／発行所　東京都渋区北青山3－8－3　藤田アパート内　プロヴォーク社／500円／印刷　凸版印刷株式会社

provoke

2

50 – Moriyama Daidō, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, Taki Kōji – Provoke 2 – 1969 – Hanmoto

プロヴォーク　思想のための挑発的資料■季刊第2号

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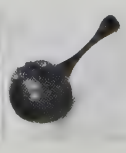
fetico に逆戻り

岡田隆彦

Abstinence sows sand all over
The ruddy limbs & flaming hair
But Desire Gratified
Plants fruits of life & beauty there.

William Blake

性のあらわれを生理的な現象に還元し，粘膜の充血による膨脹や勃起だとか，痙攣，攣縮，性液分泌などなどによって確認してゆくとすると，現代に生きるわれわれは，かならずしも異性間における正常な交渉によらず，きわめて多くの機会に性をあらわしていることになるだろう．エロス的生命の拡充するぜんたい的世界にいたらない性愛は，多くの倒錯した性行為によっても遂行されるのだが，さらに生理的な現象の代わりに心情的・感覚的な現象に性のあらわれを還元してみると，われわれは自身が意外なものによって性愛を代替していることに気づく．さしあたってわたしが関心するのは後者のほうである．どんな事情であるにせよ意識が転倒したところから将来するフェティシズム fetishism＝物神崇拝が，現代人の性愛飢餓にあるていどの満足を与えることは否定できない．こうした事態の皮相をはいずっているかぎり世は安泰で，犯罪を頂点とする性的逸脱にたいする制御装置ないし必要悪などとみなされるかもしれない．しかし事態そのものはもっと深刻で，世の安泰を砂上の楼閣としてしまうほどだ．い



（右）若林奮「獲れる獣王」1968
（左）コンラッド・クラフェッタ：無条件の降伏：1968

まいった物神崇拝が，当事者にたいへん鮮烈なリアリティを与えているにしても，視野の深まりからすれば，幻のなかのまた幻にまどろむ気配が濃厚なのである．

本末も答いつはりのつくもがみ思ひみだるる夢をこそ設け　道元

ゆめに夢を説くとは誰れが事ならんさめたる人のありぬらばこそ一良寛

たびの世にまた旅寝してくさ枕ゆめの中にもゆめをみる彼一慈鎮

夢の世に又夢結ぶ草枕覚覚淋しく物思ふかな一良寛

性は散り散り，物はきらめく

資本主義社会の爛熟が性的現象や性的イミジを拡散させる．大勢における物質的な退廃にたいして個人個人の意識がたちおくれると同時に，個人の欲望の抑圧とさし換えで文化の擬似進歩が購われる．そこに幻想的な性の局限化がひきおこる．結果からすれば性の転倒ということになろう．人びとは，ぜんたいではなく，性の一小部分にかかわろうとする．それこそまさにフェティシズムへののりこみを準備する心情傾斜といっていい．ところで断わっておくが，いま採用しているボキャブラリーは，異性の所持品や性器以外の部分を眺めたり，接触したり，思い描いたりするだけで性欲の興奮や満足を得る変態性欲を意味するフェティシズム＝節片淫乱症と，必ずしも同じものではない．同様の意味を根底にふくむけれども，もっと広く外延をもつものと解してほしい．そういうニュアンスはもう少し具体的に説明する必要があるが，そこにたちいるまえに，専門家の考察を借りてフェティシズムの概略を整理しておこう．さしあたり，ゲープザッテルの考えと観察の結果を，メダルト・ボスの著作によって要約してみる．（『性的倒錯』村上・吉田訳）

ゲープザッテルは，ヒルシュフェルトのうちだした〝フェティシズム的部分的結合〟という概念に注目し，〈部分的結合〉なる概念が，部分ではなくてぜんたいを対象とする正常な性的態度を対立した表象としてふくんでいるものとみた．フェティシズムは正常な性的体験のちょうど反対の可能性として特徴づけられる．エロス的興奮のもたらす創造的衝動の方向が現在の生成の瞬間におけるぜんたいに向かうに反して，フェティシズムにおけるエロティークから分離した性的欲望の方向は，ぜんたいの破壊と分割とにあり，さらに部分をぜんたいにまで高めることにある．またその恋愛対象は，フェティシズムにおいて，人間化され生命化され，ぜんたい的意表をもつ．「彼の体験的意表からすれば，フェチッシュは一つの全体であり，性的に強調された愛の現実そのものである．しかしフェチッシュが全体となるのは，少くとも想像の世界において，エロス的生命の二つの方向，即ち愛と性欲とを一つの作用全体とすることによってである。」

こうしてみると，いま問題とするフェティシズムが，対象の部分化による，ぜんたい性掲示の急迫と，その過程で示す対象の人間化ないし生命化とによって問題とされることがあきらかとなろう．状況の反映をまざまざと示す対象のせっかちな部分化は性の触触にほかならないが，もっときょくたんなありようが対象の選ぶところのない人間化である．人間化 animation といい生命化といい，ぜんじつめれば対象の活発化 activation ということだろう．字義通り受けとればいかにも生命力が旺盛であるようだけれど，性愛のなまめかしさを失なうまいとする気もちの最後のよりどころでもあるかのように，無生物までも有生視 animatism する傾向が混在していることに注意したい．

あれにいのちを吹きこんで一物神崇拝

具体的な例を挙げよう．――マス・コミによって，あるいは規模の大きな商業ルートによって，大量に送りこまれ反覆されるイミジは，それがたんなる瞬間のプロジェクションとして物体でないとしても，人びとの心に妙なこだわりを植えつけ，たちどころに崇拝的な脈絡を組織してしまう．当人はあずかり知らぬとしても，いつのまにかかれはイミジをフェティッシュとしていることになるのだ．きいきんの娯楽や気晴しを営業化する種類の施設などのばあい，現代人のフェティシズム的心情傾斜はみごとに配給されているようだ．たとえば都心の夜にアクセントをつけているディスコテックなどをみるがいい．そこでは，見るもの・触れるもの・聴くものすべてが斗理をひどく刺激する．それは，音や光の分節の集まりが雑来し，どこまでも人を興奮させる現代都市の環境を集約的に示すものでもあるだろう．気ばかりあせる，といった常套句は残念ながら都市生活者の現実であって，だからかれらは，実体がもし精密な肉体をもっていなくとも，対象の表面がかもしだす気分にふれると，まるでスパークするみたいに興奮してしまうのである．対象たる肉体が精密な肉体をもっていなくとも，と形容したが，享け手がはじめから興奮しようとしている状態では，むしろ対象が粗野であるほうが効果的なのだ．そんなとき，怒号や叫びや乱暴なタッチの線や原色が人を動かす．これをよく利用しているのがディスコテックで，なにがし自己催眠で状況の抑圧を忘れようとしている若いお客をもうひとつ催眠にかけておいて，まんまと興奮させてしまうのである．手段に使われるもっとも手っとり早い形式は，螢光色による刺激的なパターンのイラストである．単純な絵柄を螢光塗料で描き人工光線の投射で光り輝やかす手法だ．まさに LSD ぬきで，人びとに LSD 体験を味あわせようとするものである．専門家の報告によれば，LSD―25 の投与によるサイケデリック体験においては，きらめく光が降りそそぎ，ストロボの痙攣的な投射を思わせる光の体験があって，かたちと色の区別なく，すべてはみずから興奮したように生きいきとうつるそうである．ということは，さまざまな物質が実体であることを超え，非物質的リアリティを招きながら，きょくたんに生命化されることを意味する．つまり，さきにいった animatism である．animism よりも一段階さかのぼってしまうわけだ．これは，機械文明から情報文明に移行しつつある現代が，派手やかな見てくれに反して原始的な意識を残していることの証左ともなろう．そういう時代は，とうぜんのこと，日常的な情念の領域に，フェティシズムの逆立をもたらすのである．それは，反省的意識なり批評的な態度を媒介しない性急な，人工的な物体の生命化であるとともに，見えない情報系の生命化である．生命化されることによって，自己の所産にすぎなかったものが，物神になりあがり，浸透性のつよい機能を占有するようになるのである．けっきょくこれは，人びとがみずからの営為の結果に支配されたり幻惑されたりするという転倒した現象なのだ．

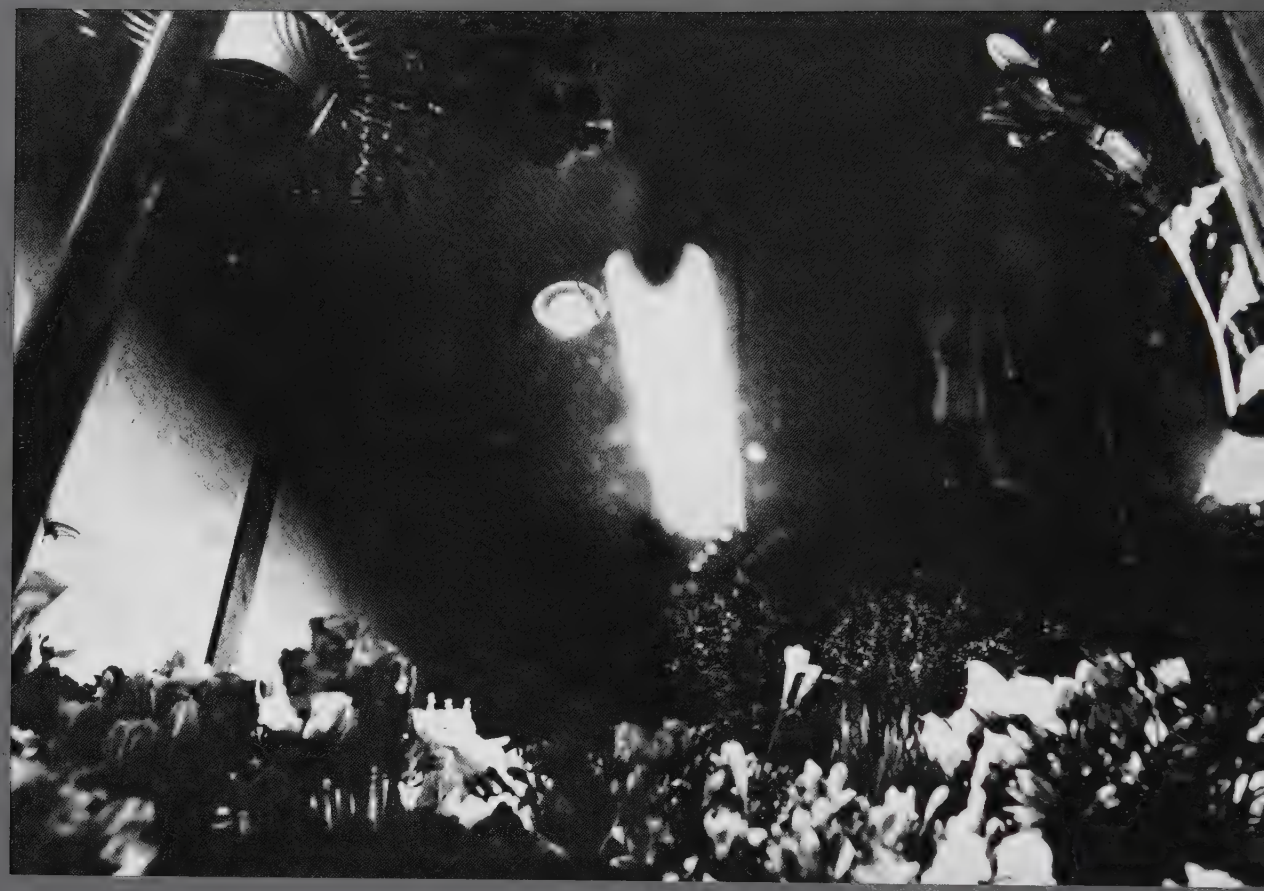
ぜんたい的世界像そのものの把握やそれを拡充する見込みがたたなかったり，そうした欲求が激しいあまり，気分だけがいたずらにたかまり，先走りしてしまう．それにもかかわらず一方では，現実感の剥落に危機を感じて強迫観念が形成され，安全弁を求める気もちで，十分に感じうる物体に急迫する．要するに現象面でとらえれば（ここでいうフェティシズム体験者は），裏でもつかむおもいで，そのときかれの生理をかきたてるにふさわしい物体やその属性に没入し，対象を生命化する過程で知覚をきょくりょく励起させようとする．ここではむろん，日常の環境のなかで misfit であるかれ個人の流動的な不安と無聊と欲情がポテンシャルエネルギーとなって，かれの行為に拍車をかける．対象を生命化する過程で知覚をきょくりょく励起させようとする試みはまた，当の対象＝偶然に存在を強調された全現実のなかの一部分をぜんたいを集約する象徴とみなそうとする試みに通じ，ほとんどそれは自己催眠に近い様相を呈する．

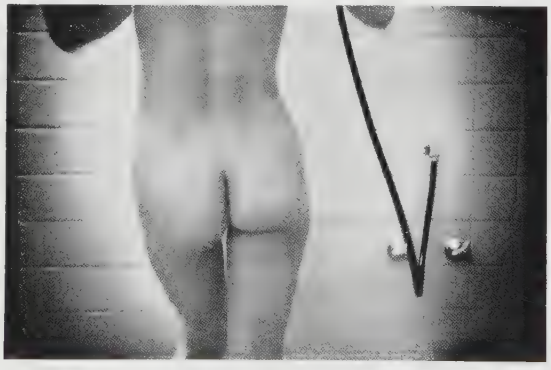
それがダメならみんなダメ，危い危い部分主義

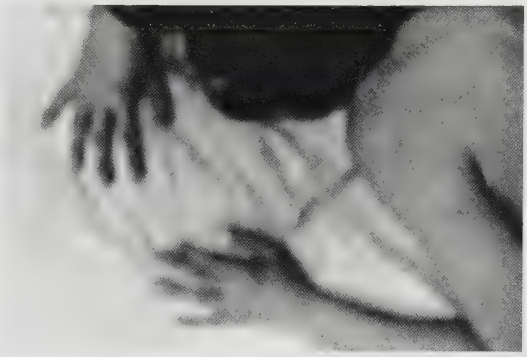
強引に自己の正当さを確立しようとする勢力は，ぜんたいの展望と現実との交渉を放棄したところで成りたつ任意の対象選択がもつ

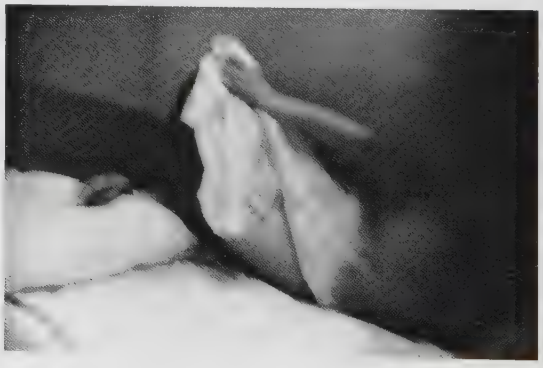
（P.105へ続く）

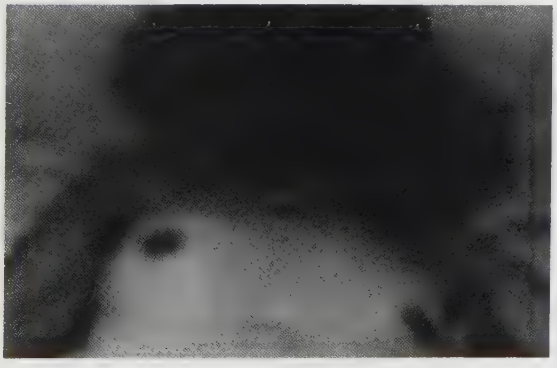
中平卓馬

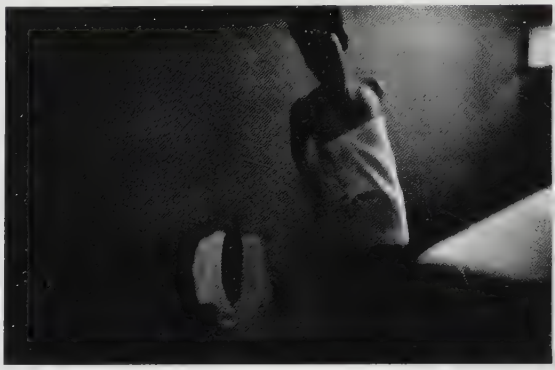


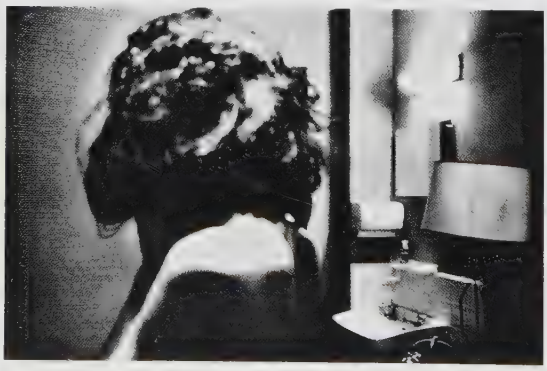


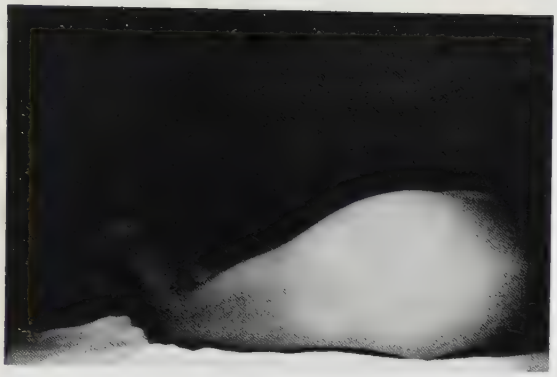








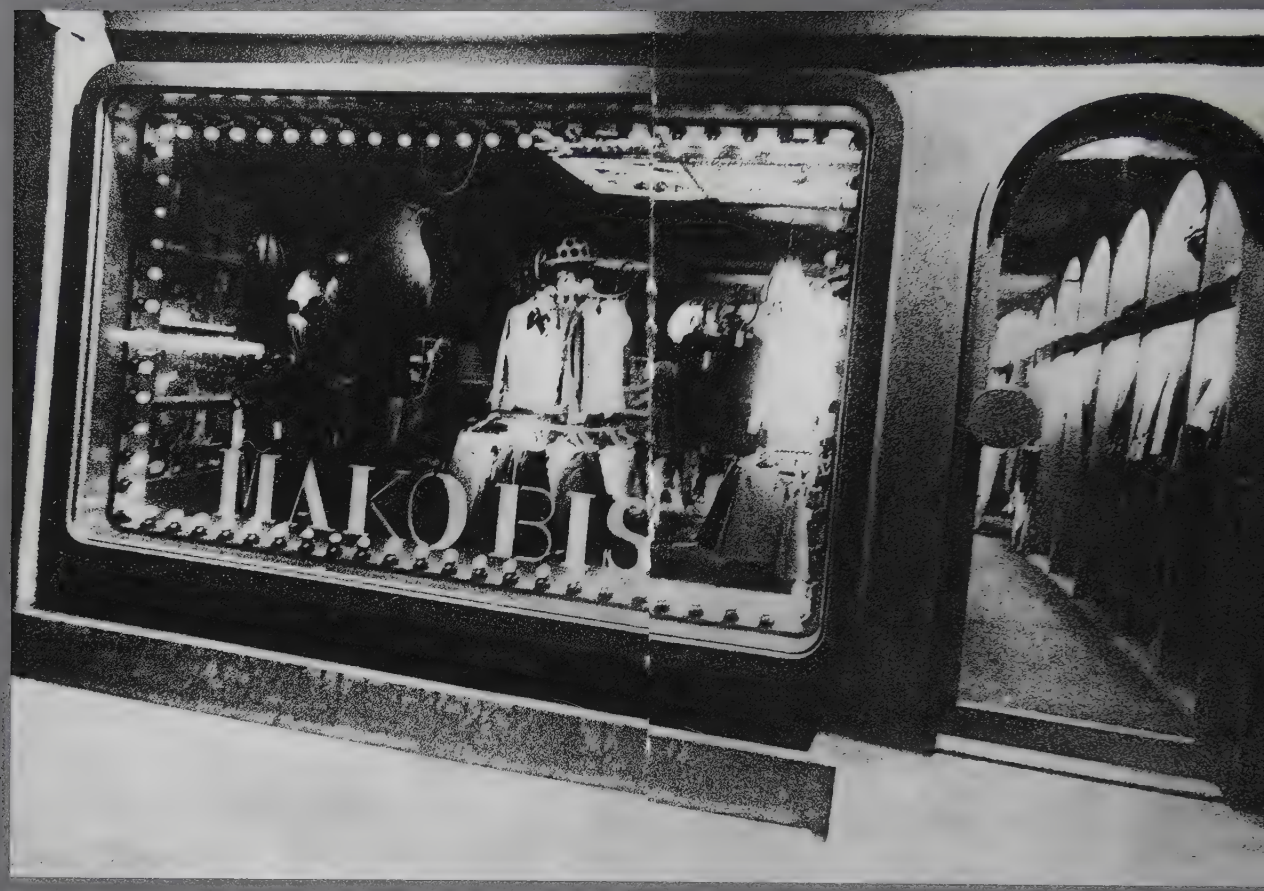




高梨 豊

多木浩二

THE STRIKE


JAKOBIS

岡田隆彦

大股びらきに堪えてさまよえ

道を急ぐことはない。
あやまちを怖れる者はつねにほろびる。
明日をおびやかすその価値は幻影だ。
風の影を凍てつかせるなら　俗悪さにひるみ
道を急ぐことはない。
けれども垂直に現実とまじわるがいい。
厳粛な大股びらきに堪えて
非在の荒野をさまよいつづけろ。
せっかちに目的を知ろうとするな。
秘匿されるべきものの現前に立ちあい
引き裂かれる樹木の股に堪え　涙なく
こだまする胸の痛みが
深まるにまかせよう。そして
あの孤独の深淵をひとり降りてゆく。
死の河だから進むことができる。
堪えてすべてを失ったなら　語るな。
蒼穹のごとき沈黙に飛ぶ鳥を見よ。
求める約束にみずからあざむかれ
道を急ぐことはない。

(P.8より)

不完全性を無視してしまい，文字通り対象を神格化することで，日常生活における破壊的な暴力と化す．なぜなら，たまたまその存在を強調されたにすぎないぜんたいのなかの一部分（とはいえ無批判な心情傾斜の描く部分だから，インテグラルな＝ぜんたいにとって必要不可欠な部分とはおのずから異なる）を神格化すると，〝人にとってそれだけが自己のすべてとなり，膨大な質料であるだろう他のものはおしなべて無意味なそれとみなされ，どうあってもあずかり知らぬということになるからである．ごく一部分だけがたいせつで，それをたいせつに扱う気もちが深ければ深いだけ，他のものはほんらい備えているところの固別性を破壊されてしまうのだ．

複雑化しつつ強固になった制度内で自発性が抑圧されすぎると，その見返りとして気分は過剰となり，腐蝕のうきめにあうこと必至である．そのさきは見えている．気分だけが虚空にせりだして，交換不可能な現実をねつ造してしまうこと，およびそうした企図を遂行するのに便利なものならどんなものでも呪物となさしめるということとが，多くの現代人がフェティシズムにおかされている事態の深刻さを裏づけているといっていい．どんなものでもというからには，物質を逸脱しようとする傾向があることもいおうとしているのだ．なまなましい物体としての性愛対象に密接な関係のある物品が呪物となるのは，だれにとっても潜在する本能的な営為にすぎないが，つぎの段階は，対象がかもしだすフィーリングの呪物化であろう．その能力とか態度，表情，気質などが呪物と化す段階である．もっともきょくたんなあらわれは，物質感が倒錯するところに跋梁する〝あえかな光の映発〟を力づくで，いやパラノイアックな欲望の力で物質化しようとする心的傾斜であろう．そのような人は，たとえば男であれ女であれ，ただいま相手の肉体と交接しているさなかにも，交接によって相手にたいして抱懐しつつあるうるおいを完ぺきに所有したいばかりに，交接のアイデンティティから遠ざかり，不可能性をなおも追及するあまり，しらじらしい欲求不満をいだくか，幻想を緻密に織りなすことで性的欲求の代用満足をみいだすだろう．

性が，わたしたちにとって最後の自然だとすれば，もっとオープンに展開されていいはずなのに，じっさいは陰微な手続きを制度化してしまうところに属し，表面は複雑だが内実はきわめて非合理で原始的である．ソフィストケイティドなかたちをとっていても，ふちわってみれば，きわめて単純な心情傾斜の構造化にすぎないというのが，現代人の性にたいする姿勢なのだ．ここまでくると，誇り高き文明人であるはずのわれわれは，ついに未開人や原始人の迷妄を分かちあうことになる．

つまり，またしても fetico に逆戻りするのである．フェティシズムの端緒に逆戻りしつつあるということだ．15世紀の後半，ポルトガルの航海者たちは西アフリカにおもむいたとき，土人が歯・瓜・木片・貝殻などの無生物を崇拝するのを見て，それらの物体を feticoと呼んだ．feticoとはポルトガル語で呪具や護符を意味する．ポルトガル人が，本国でカトリックの聖者がイコンやお守りなどをフェティコと呼んで崇拝する慣わしと関連づけて，土人のあがめる無生物をも便宜上フェティコと呼んだのである．ここでは，15世紀後半に西アフリカにわたったポルトガル人にならって，現代人のフェティシズムのうちに，〈性の物神化〉をみいだすことである．

エロはデパートの神棚で売っている

ところで，〈性の物神化〉が惹きおこる背景についても言及しておかなくては片手落ちになるだろう．それには，フロイトの観察を援用するのがいいようである．――この革命的な精神分析学者は，『「文化的」性道徳と現代人の神経過敏』(1908年)のなかで，フォン・エーレンフェルスが性道徳を〝自然的〟，なそれと〝文化的〟，なそれとにわけていることに注意を向ける．二つが一種の対立関係を成していて，それは一民族の素質的な面と文化財との間にある一種の対立関係をみればもっとも明らかであることに論点を置き，われわれがおちいっている神経過敏症，とくに精神神経症の本体が，ほかでもない，性的抑圧の結果にあらわれてくる数かずの代用現象であるとみぬく．フロイトは，早くから，人間の性衝動の目的がほんらい種の繁殖というところにはなく，特定の快感獲得をめざしている事実を強調しているのだが，この事実をふまえて性衝動の発達と基準に文化段階をつぎの三つに区別する．①性衝動の活動が種の繁殖という目標を無視して自由に行なわれる段階．②種の繁殖を目ざす性衝動以外のすべての性衝動が圧迫される段階．③性衝動が発動する際の目標としてはただ正式の一夫一婦制度の下に行われる種の繁殖のみが容認される段階，の三つである．現代の「文化的」性道徳は，最後の段階に適合することになる．この段階が人びとの性的なたたずまいをすっかり制度化している以上，その根拠をくつがえさないかぎり，制度内でいくらジタバタしてもはじまらない．フロイトはいう，「体質に逆い，文化が提起する諸要求にたじたじとなって，自分の（性）衝動を抑圧するが，それもただ見せかけだけの抑圧にすぎず，やればやるほど収拾がつかなくなり，従って他人と一緒になって文化的な生活行動をして行く上に大変な精力を使わざるをえず，また時折は病人になってしまって文化的な生活行動を一時中止せざるをえないような人間，これが神経症者なのである」と．またかれは，この一節の少しまえで，つぎのようにいうが，そこでは，フェティシズムにも適用する性的エネルギーの二様の可能性が闡明されているように思われる．

「性衝動 -正しくいえばいろいろの性衝動（というのは，性衝動は多くの構成成分・部分衝動から合成されているということが精神分析研究によって明かにされたからである）は，どうやら人間においては，多くの高等動物よりも強烈なものになっているようであって，いずれにしろ人間の性衝動は動物のそれに比して殆んど常時発動する．それというのも人間は，性衝動発動の周期性を殆んど完全に克服してしまったからであって，動物の性衝動は周期的にしか発動しない．ところで性衝動は，人間の文化建設という仕事に厖大なエネルギーを供給する．なぜそういうことが可能になるかというと，性衝動にはある特別な性質があって，自己本来の（性的）目標を，ほかの（性的でない）目標に振り換え，しかも大体においてそれ本来のエネルギー量を損うことがないからである．本来性的な目標を，もはや性的でない別の目標，しかし心理的には性的目標に似通った目標に取り換える能力，この能力は昇華能力と呼ばれる．性衝動の文化的価値は，まさにこの昇華能力に懸かり存するのであるが，反面また性衝動は，殊に根強い固着現象を起しもするのであって，この固着現象あるがために性衝動はほかに使い途のないものとなり，時によるといわゆる病的異常現象を惹起するようなことにもなる。」（いずれも日本教文社版「フロイド選集」による。）

しかしフロイトが，ほんらい性的な目標を，心理上でのみ性的であるにしても性的でない別の目標にとり換える能力をただちに昇華能力とみなしているには，若干の疑問をさしはさみたくなる．そのわけはすでに説明しているはずだ．かんたんにいってしまえば，昇華能力とみえるものが，じつは現実を空無化する破壊力ともなりうることがあるということだ．だが相当ちがうニュアンスで，フロイトもこれを説明しようとしているのかもしれない．いわく「根強い固着現象」である．

昇華と反抗を抑えつけてはおしまいだ

ここらへんでもう少し視野をひろげる必要がありそうだ．そうしないと，性の物神化ということのありうべき十分理解できまい．資本主義体制の進行と随伴して生きるわれわれにとって，もとより性は商業ルートにのせられているのであって，それならば，商品としての性についても深い考慮を払わなければならない．性すらも市場経済の目録に入ってい

るのである．したがってここでは，マルクスが「資本論――経済学批判」第一巻のなかでいっていることを想起すべきであろう．かれは周知のとおり，「商品の物神的性格とその秘密」の節で，人間自身のつくりだす物体が商品としてあらわれるや感覚的にして超感覚的な物に転化すること，およびそのメカニズムを解き明かしてみせた．たとえばこんなぐあいだ．「それゆえに，商品形態の神秘に充ちたものは，単純に次のことの中にあるのである．すなわち，商品形態は，人間にたいして彼ら自身の労働の社会的性格を労働生産物自身の対象的性格として，これらの物の社会的自然属性として，反映するということ，したがってまた，総労働にたいする生産者の社会的関係をも，彼らのほかに存する対象の社会的関係として，反映するということである．この quid pro quo〔とりちがえ〕によって，労働生産物は商品となり，感覚的にして超感覚的な，または社会的な物となるのである．このようにして，ある物の視神経にたいする光印象は，視神経自身の主観的刺激としてでなく，眼の外にある物の対象的形態としてあらわされる．しかしながら，視るということにおいては，実際に光がある物から，すなわち外的対象から，他のある物，すなわち眼にたいして投ぜられる，それは物理的な物の間における物理的な関係である．これに反して，商品形態とそれが表われる労働諸生産物の価値関係とは，それらの物理的性質やこれから発出する物的関係をもっては，絶対にどうすることも出来ないものである．このばあい，人間にたいして物の関係の幻影的形態をとるのは，人間自身の特定の社会関係であるにすぎない．したがって，類似性を見出すためには，われわれは宗教的世界の夢幻境にのがれなければならない．ここでは人間の頭脳の諸生産物が，それ自身の生命を与えられて，相互の間でまた人間との間で相関係する独立の姿に見えるのである．商品世界においても，人間の手の生産物がそのとおりに見えるのである．私は，これを物神礼拝と名づける．それは，労働生産物が商品として生産されるようになるとただちに，労働生産物に付着するものであって，したがって，商品生産から分離しえないものである。」（岩波書店版）

フェティシズムそのものにもどろう．――性的抑圧からくる神経過敏が生みだす転倒だけではなく，市場経済が強いる転倒もあって，このふたつの転倒の極点するところから，じつはフェティシズムのしぶとい展開がじっさい的な効力を発揮しはじめるのである．そこらへんの事情がややこしいのだ．そうした幻想体系をよくみきわめないうちに，〈昇華能力〉といった概念に多くの信をおき創造的な領面を拡大しすぎると，（唐突だが，けっきょくはこれを語りたいので）フェティシズムを絶対的現実に転位する行為としての芸術表現もついに虚構のむなしさと幻想のしらじらしさに頭をかかえてしまうことだろう．たとえば，シラーの有名な，表現の純粋客観性についての理論も芸術表現の現実をいいあてているにしろ，むなしさをあらわにしてしまうのではないか．シラーによれば，よき様式 Stil の本質は，自己風 Manier とは反対に，表現の純粋客観性であり，様式は，表現のあらゆる主観的で偶然的な規定から独立したものなのだ．いわく「偉大な芸術家は対象を示し，平凡な芸術家は自己自身を示し，劣等な芸術家は素材を示す」ということは，物体が理念のうちで・記号が表示せられたもののうちで・実在性が現象のうちでそれぞれ失われなければ芸術表現の純粋性が獲得できないことを意味している．原義においてそれは正しい．だが，われわれはいちど転倒したフェティシズムの幻想に没入しながら同時にその幻想を破壊しなくてはならないだろう．

フェティシズムという様態をとった性的倒錯は，ゲーブザッテルもいう通り，〈破壊的反応形成〉の一部であり，〈エロス的現実の自然的秩序，構成法則および意味に反抗する人格的傾向〉であり，さらに〈叛逆と反抗の精神〉なのである．とすれば，フェティシズムを呪術から解き放ち，視形の物質を客中にして，その物質とぜんめん的に相対する状態に転位することに，新たな可能性があるのではないか．神経過敏と擬制とがふたつながら進行し，ふたつの幻想が相乗的に作用する今日，対象を十分理解するだけではたいした起爆力を得ることはできないだろう．今日では，性対象としての人格でなくとも，対象の意味する内容なり欲求を十分理解しさえすれば，そのことが官能性 sens の映発となるだろう．けれども意味や欲求の理解だけでその肉体を享けいれることがなおざりにされるなら，官能もデカダンスに堕す．ただ気ばかりあせって官能を逸脱してしまうだろう．なによりその物質を享けいれてみることが，行為を新たにはぐくむこととなろう．物質を享けいれ・物質を感得するということは，享けいれる人間が自己を否定することになるのだ．このダイナミズムに抗してゆくことができない者に，リアリティはついにやってこないだろう．

〈編集後記〉

PROVOKE 2号を送ります。1号発刊が昨年の11月1日、季刊誌としては少し遅れましたことをお詫びします。

発刊と同時に多くの批評、批判をいただき、自分たちのやり始めたことの意外な重大さに思はや[illegible]ています。今号は統一的なテーマとして「エロス」という短い言葉をえらんだのですが、この言葉のもつ意味の[illegible]に一人一人がこだわったことはたしかです。

とにかく、けんきょに批判をうけ、PROVOKEを定期的に発行し続ける中で少しずつみずからを変革させてゆきたいと思います。

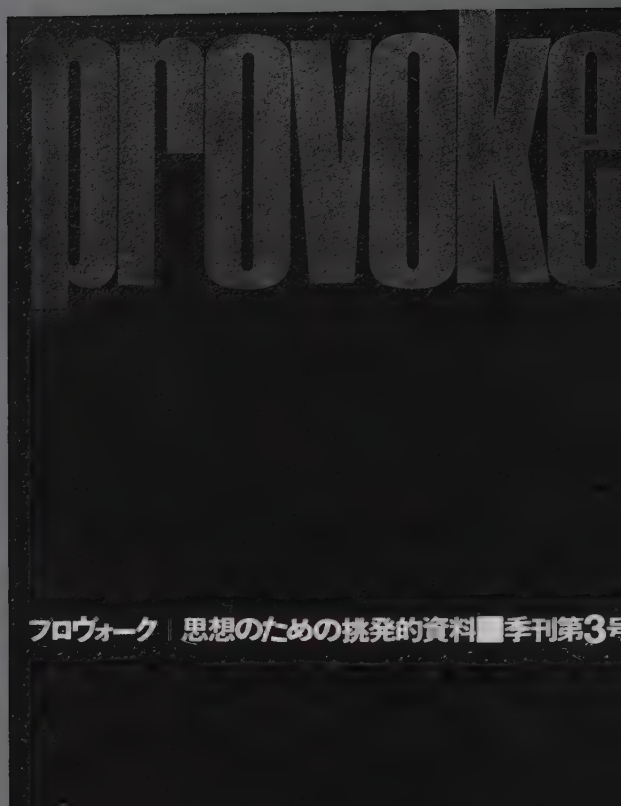
次号は5月末の予定です。　(N)

プロヴォーク/季刊/3号/発行 1969・8・10/発行所 東京都港区北青山3－8－3 藤田アパート内 プロヴォーク社/500円/印刷 市村原色

provoke

3

51 – Moriyama Daidō, Nakahira Takuma, Gōzō Yoshimasu, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, Taki Kōji, Provoke 3, 1969, H



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写真のための挑発断章

吉増剛造

★

写真家よ
君は黄金の槍で君の犬の頭蓋骨を刺しているが
君のアルプスは乳房に似ているが
それは問題ではない
……

と1969年3月10日数行の詩行を書いたが、さらに不可解だ。ときおり、生物の二、三匹、人間の二、三人を殺すつもりでなくて、どうして表現は成ろうか！と思考が一閃光のようにかすめるので、さらに書こう。この閃光、頭脳中のどのあたりを掠過したのか、掠過傷を生ぜしめたか判らぬ。ただ傷跡によって刃物の実在は立証できぬ。

★

ヘシャッターおすだけで——、それだけでいいのお——
……

かってこのようにおそるべき歌もあって、航海者に呼びかける魔女の如くたなびいた。いま扇千景のフジカシングル8の恐怖感は心中にひろがりつつある。地下鉄の入ってゆくあの穴をだれが説明したか。いま我々の脳髄は水藻うかべて鳴動しつづける一個の戦慄として生首の上にある。脳髄、頭部が漂流する。それが時に理由もなくニヤリと笑うからさらに絶望が深まる。恋しているのかしらん。サントリー、東芝ユニカラーテレビ、あと数秒で焼ききれるであろう強烈な光であった。個人的にはなによりも優雅をあこがれる

のだ。ニヤリと笑うからな。ピンも虎のふんどししめてえ――、扇千景のフジカシングル８の恐怖感はさらに絶大だ。ポン、とはまりこむか！

……

ヘシャッターおすだけで――、それだけでいいのお――

……

民主主義によれば、太陽は水である。民主主義によれば水は太陽である。民主主義によれば人間以外は困らない。反対だ！エロティシズムに反対だ！

★

私だけのサンヨープロト、私だけの偉大なリンホフ。私は視姦者だからときどき飛行機にのって素晴しい青空を眺めにゆく。飛行機のなかでかっての美空ひばりみたいに越後獅子、飛行機のなかできかだちできたら、うれしいだろうな。私だけのオリンパス・ペン、左手で撮影だ！

4

★

ペン、ペン、ペン、てやんでえ、韻は踏まねえぞ！オリンパス・ペン、アーピング・ペン、アーペドン・ペン、剣菱ッ、なんぞまとめてドシャッと宇宙へ捨てる。……また航海だ。ああ　また後悔だ。なんでもかんでも残りやがって涙ぐんでやがる。馬鹿、馬鹿、馬鹿、馬鹿……

★

偉大なるアラビヤ数字の７のように、私だけの孤独を抱きしめて、処刑台に登ってゆけば、昇ってくる太陽を糸で吊るようにして登ってゆけば、なにがなんでも登ってゆけば、やがて全部が登ってくる。全部が強烈に登ってくる。……あれは私の糸だった。天国で糸をひいてたお釈迦様が気が狂ったんだ。ドシャッ！と地獄へ落されたが。太陽の溺死、と書く。世界が食べたと書く。かすかな音が聞えてくる。

★

ひとめぐりした
さあ帰ろう
黄金のシャッター、白いシャツきて
私だけの
ワルツが待っている
さて
酒を買って……

(69・6・14)

5

点と線でいまを描くな

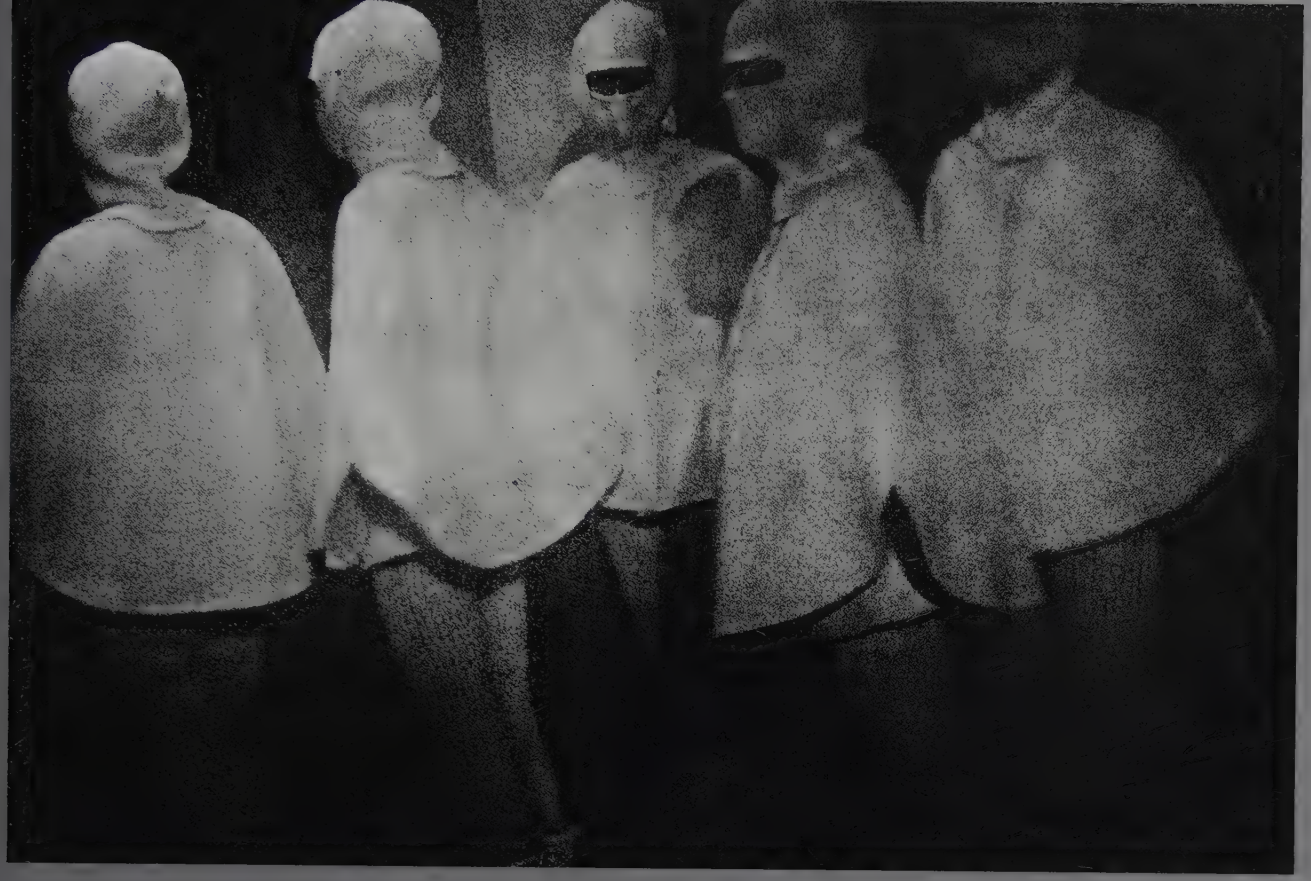
岡田隆彦

おまえの王国はいったいどこなのだと
問いつめるとき
早くも遠近法の自家中毒におかされ
点と線で緻密に答えたいと渇望する
それも世界を眼で飲めた種まきどきには
地道な路程だったが
だめだ　虚無を織りなすに終る
溶ける様子が皮膚から内臓までしみわたる
つかめるものと予知できぬものとが
わたりあって成るこの円弧
青に量差があるだけの昼と夜
わい雑な都会はゆわーんと満ちてくる
大きすぎる天幕の中身や
帆のうねる波状のちからが
耳のらせんを巻きこむかたわら
眼球をじょじょにひろげてゆくが
輪郭はつかめない
あてどない夢の馬
おまえの王国はいったいどこにあるのだと
問いかけながら　いまおれは
風をはらむ鳩胸のうちがわにちいさく立ちつくし
動きと羽ばたきが食い尽くすふくらみに
貫通されちまってる
気球として充ち貝殻としてひらいてゆき
あふれていったゆくすえに　しかも此岸で
王国をのぞむ以上は
花芯のにおいや
うるおう雲の下の海
たちさわぐ鳥の影　河馬の声
女の湾などを描く刻苦から
はるかに遠ざかれ　そしてすぐさま
破砕する以上に透明な肉体を増幅せよ
王国は比喩じゃないから　おまえがみずから
点と線に
器官と汁に切りさいたところで
飾るのが関の山
息がふくらむふところ深く
ふわりと浮かんで　無に火をはなち
地獄の火焔車を盗む矢とともに　おまえは
都市を大きくまたいでしまうがいい
おい　こっちへくるんだ！

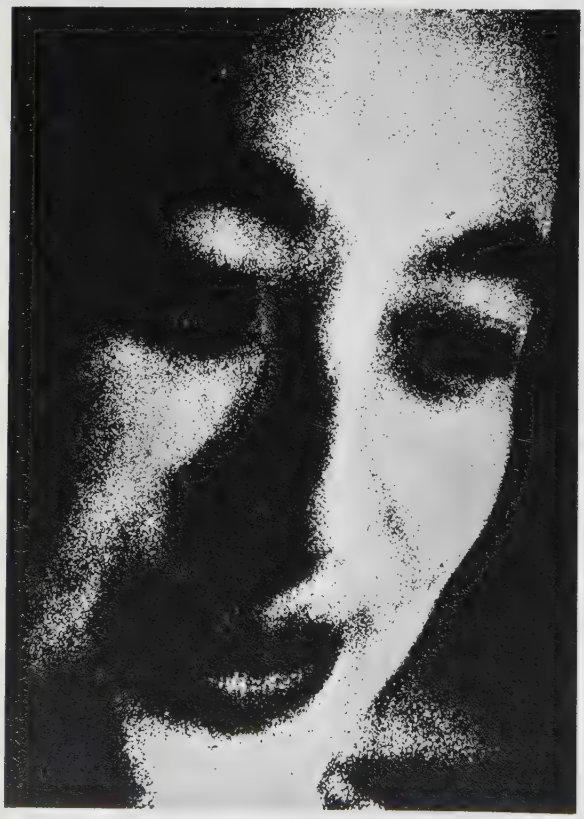
6

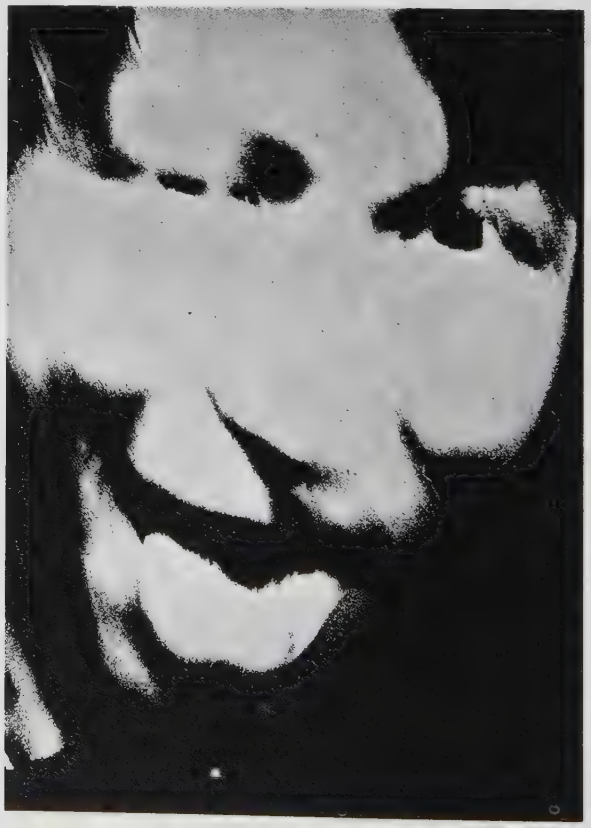
7

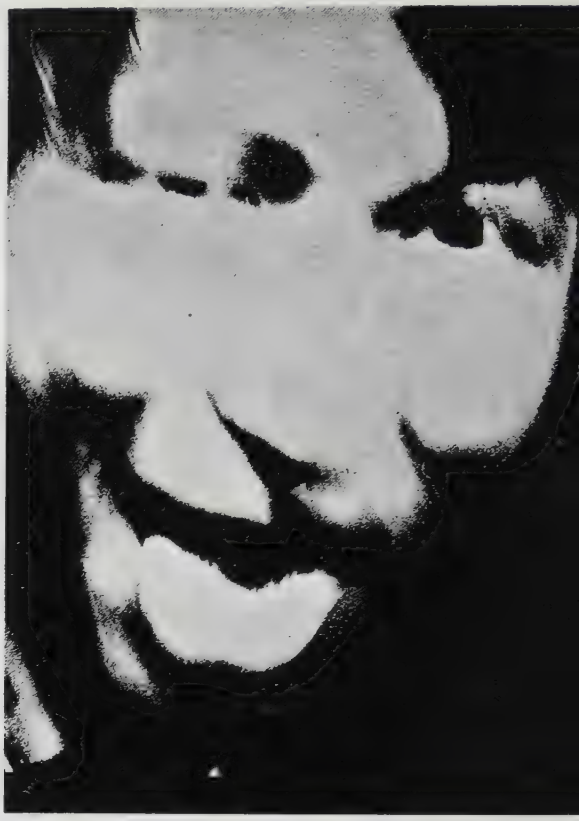
高梨 豊

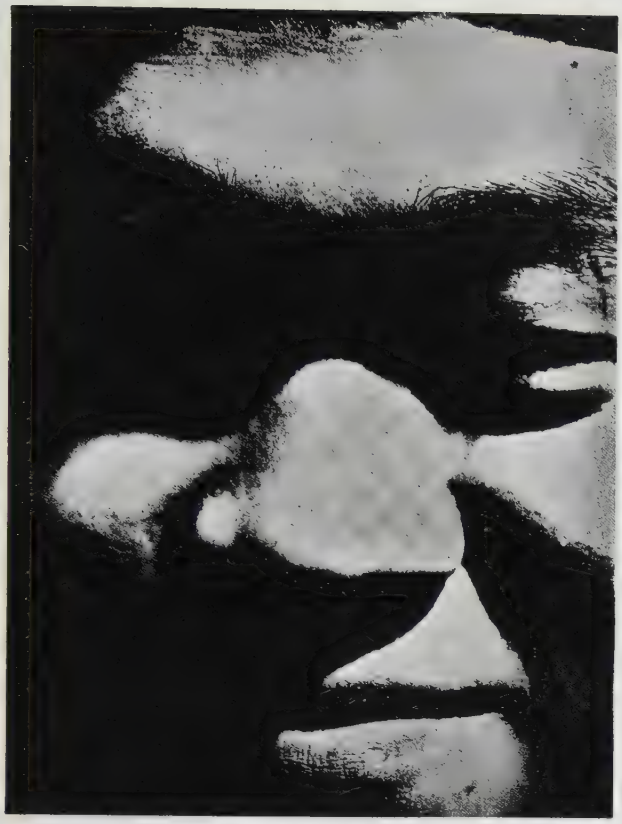


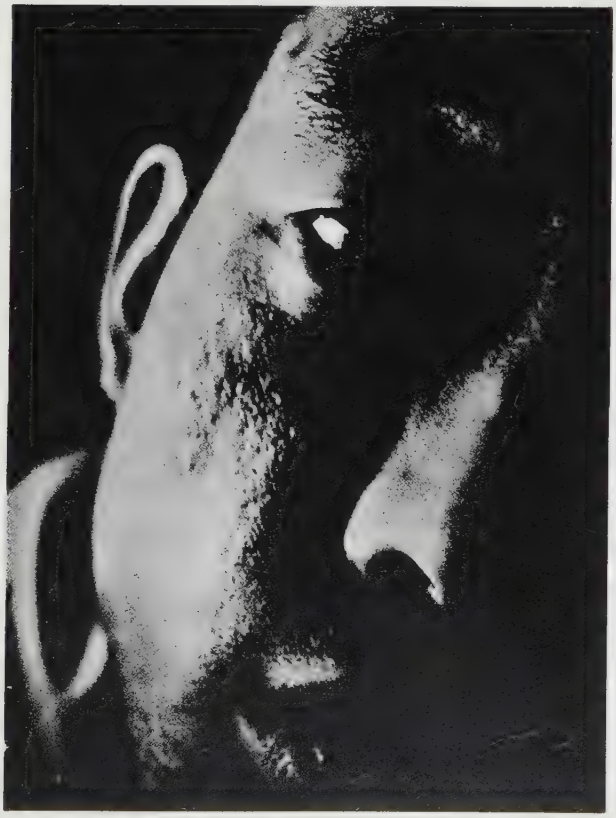
多木浩二

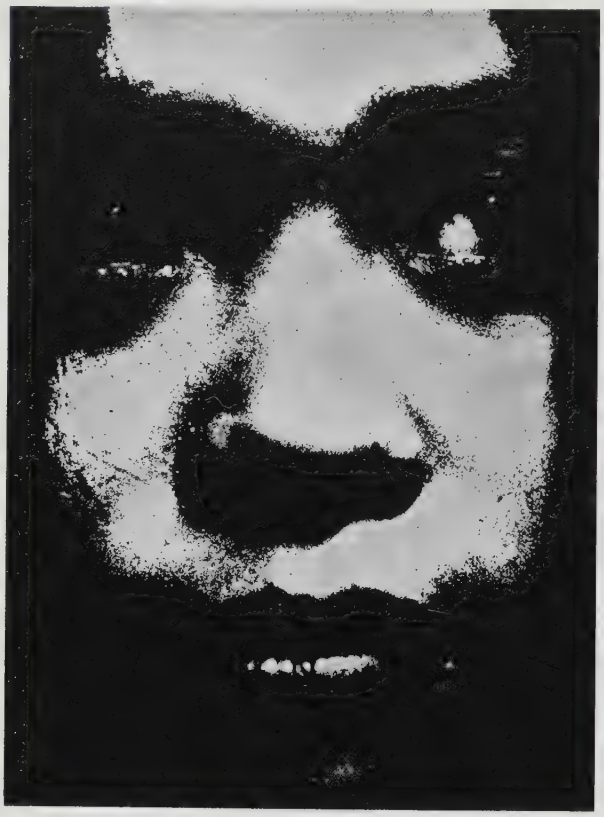






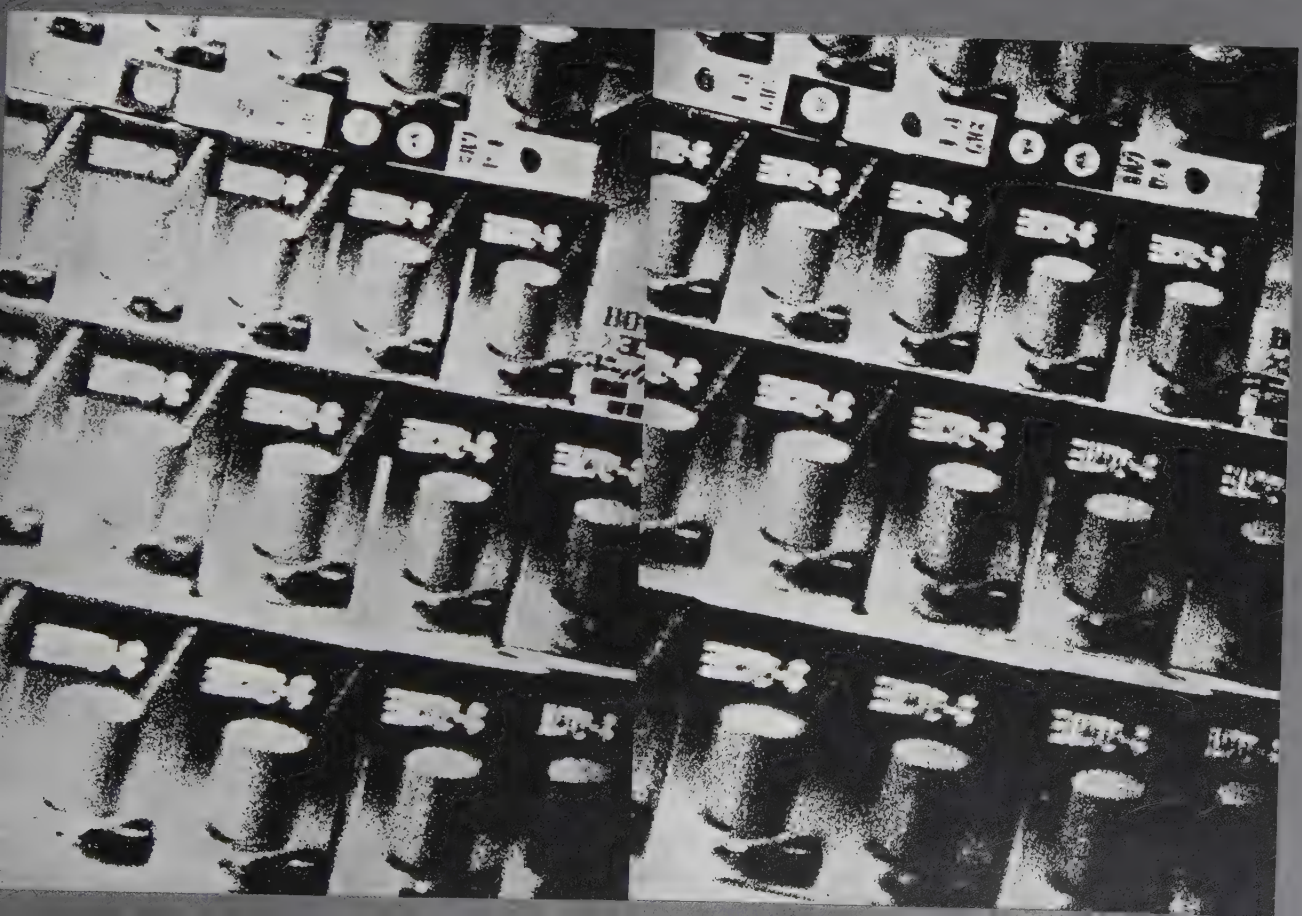




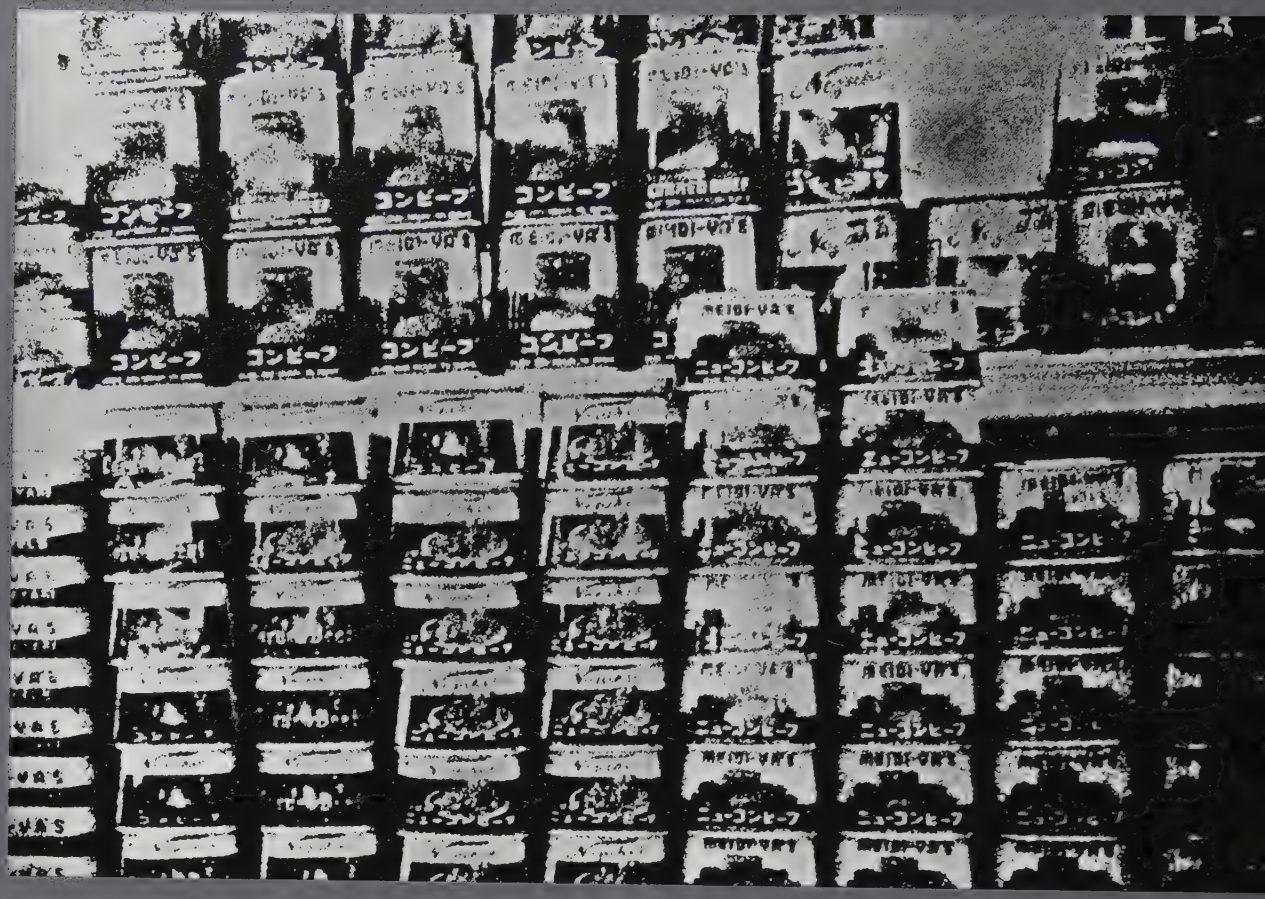


森山大道

GEM
GT 150
GT 90
170
490



セブンアップ
CANADA DRY
BEVERAGES
カナトライ
さわやかな味
PEPSI-COLA
7-UP
DAD'S
CANADA
BEVERAGES


コンビーフ
ニューコンビーフ

タッシュ
スパーク
ダイヤ
ワッタフル
アタック
トップ
¥170

Gerber
TUNA
35

高級品物

編集後記

3号はある事情ですっかり遅れてしまった。この事情はわれわれ自身と状況と創造とにかかわることだから，決して消えるものではないが，われわれはプロヴォークを出すことでしかこの問題とのとり組みも不可能と考えている。したがって遅れをとりもどすために，1号は最初の季刊の刊行予定どおり，10月のはじめには出ることになるだろう。

同人というのはひとつのゆるい組織である。ある所で話をしたときに，いったいその連帯のきずなはなにかと聞われた。私としては，かんたんに答えることができないのを感じながら，次のような話し方をした。ごらんのとおり4人の写真は4様であり，方法上はどこにもつながりをもっていない。むしろ，はっきり，対立をもっている。だが，われわれはただ写真がわれわれと世界とのあいだにあってなにものでありうるかということにおいては，ほぼ一致している。これには幻想はない。われわれはそれほど写真が遠くまで行けるとも思っていないが，同時に，ほかならぬ写真だけがうみだす世界のナマの意味の層があることを知っている。ナマの意味の層とは科学的，調査的，美学的な方法ではなく，まずわれわれをつつみこむ世界についての味覚とその向うにある触知できない全体を含めたものなのである。

われわれの同人のひとりである，中平卓馬が〈同時代的〉ということに執着しつづけた意見を〈デザイン〉誌に書きつづったのも，森山大道り，一枚の既存のポスターという現実の仮象からあたらしく現実をひきだしていく方法を発表したのも，高梨豊が危険な美をとおして世界がどこに向きつつあるのか沈みつつあるのかについての予断をわれわれにいちど中止させてしまうのも，われわれがこの異様な時代のなかにまだどうみづからを位置づけていいかをたえず模索していることのあらわれなのだ。このような不安，いわば自力でどこか行けるところまで行ってみるという以外にはしかたがないという認識がわれわれを結びつけ，またわれわれを対立させるのである。つまり，連帯とは，それ自体が結びつけると同時にひきさくひとつの力の作用をさしているのだ。

だがわれわれは，なにかをなさねばならない時機に立ちあっている。芸術，表現ということの意味が崩壊し，形成されるという流動的な状態に生きている　われわれはかっての価値でみられた〈よい作品〉などつくるには全く，それはわれわれにとっては価値ではないからである　未来というものが，われわれにはそれほど意味をもた

ないことでは加えて[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

まずたしからしさの世界をすてろ

写真と言語の思想

天野道映／岡田隆彦／高梨　豊／多木浩二／中平卓馬／森山大道

田畑書店

52 – Nakahira Takuma, Taki Kōji, et al. – *First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty*, 1970 – Book

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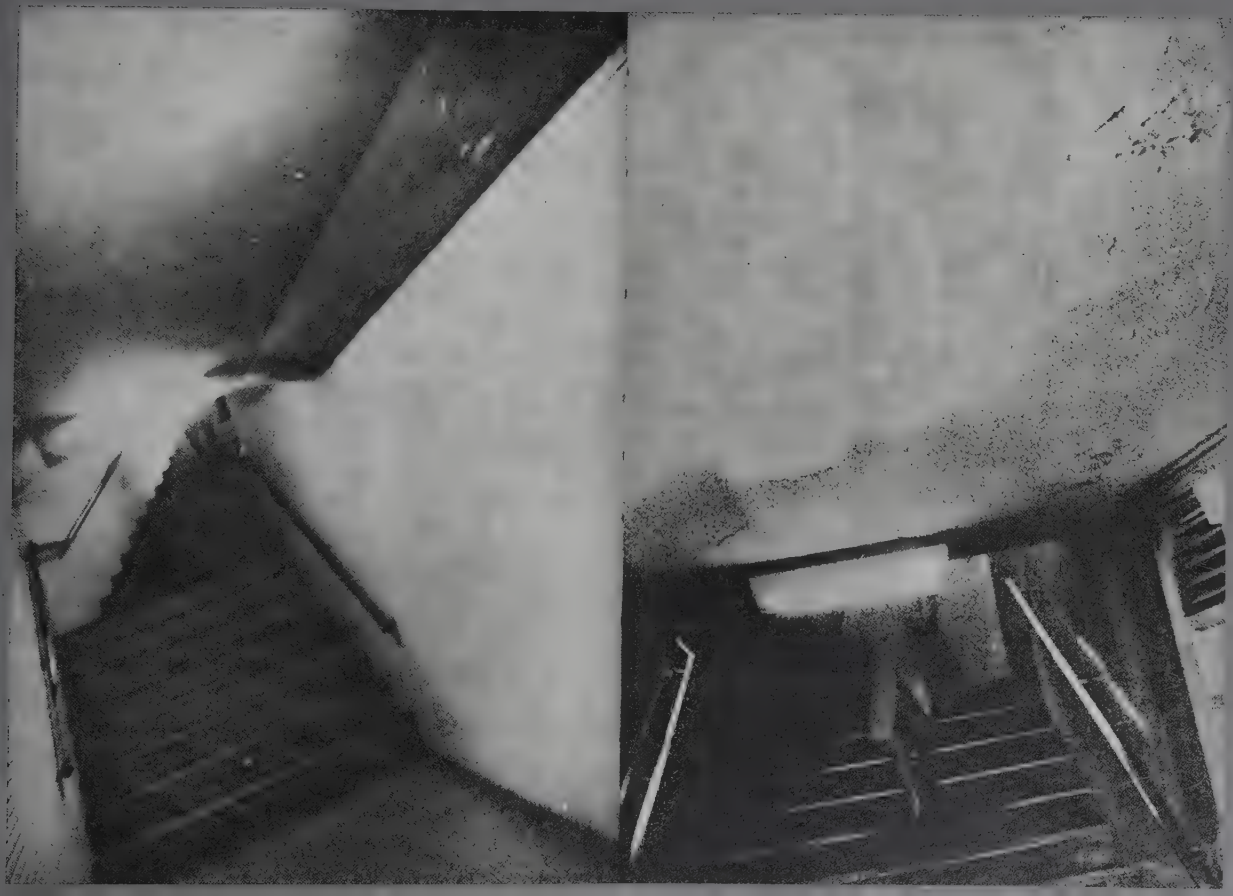
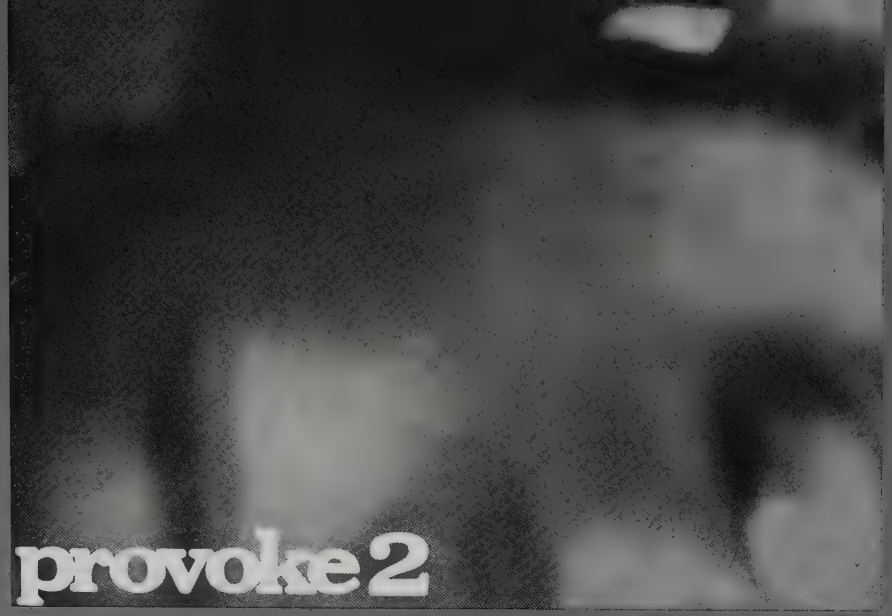
provoke 1.

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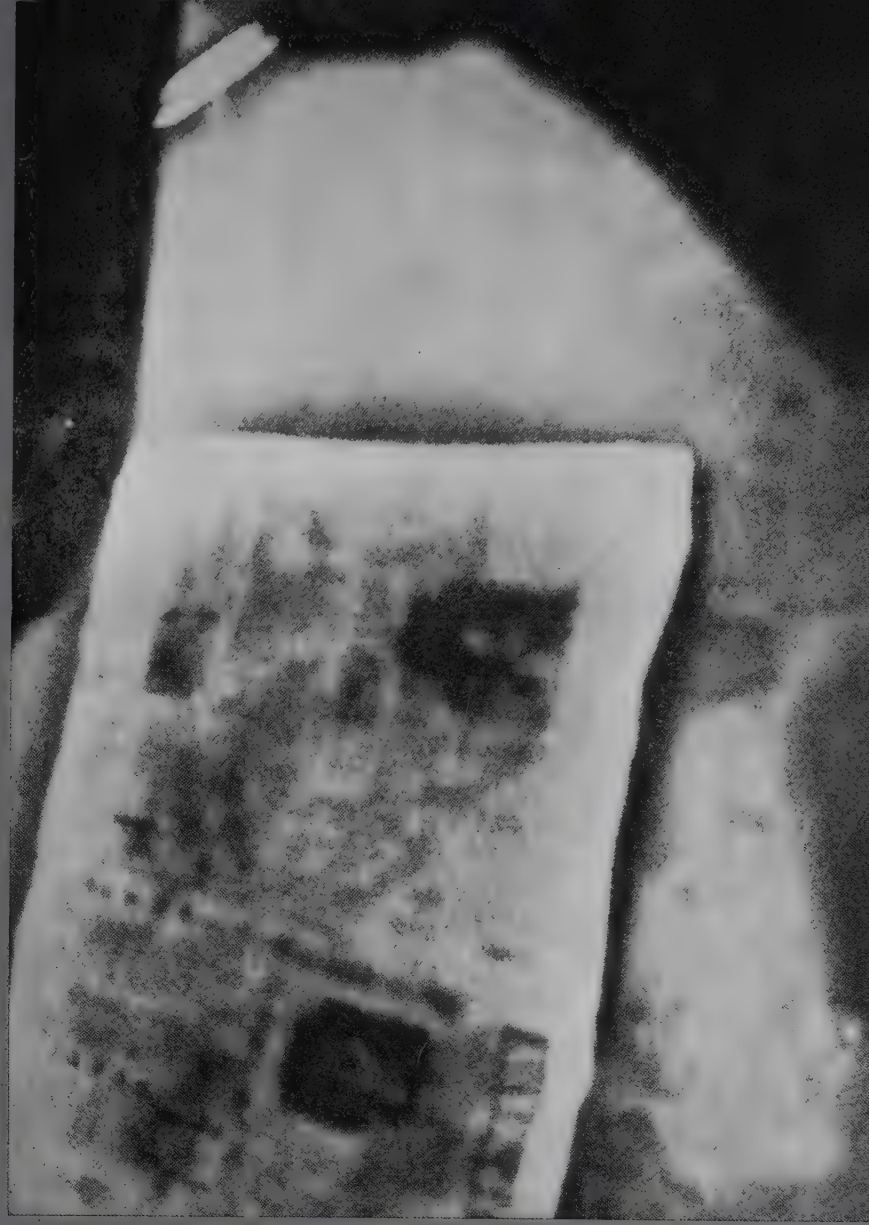

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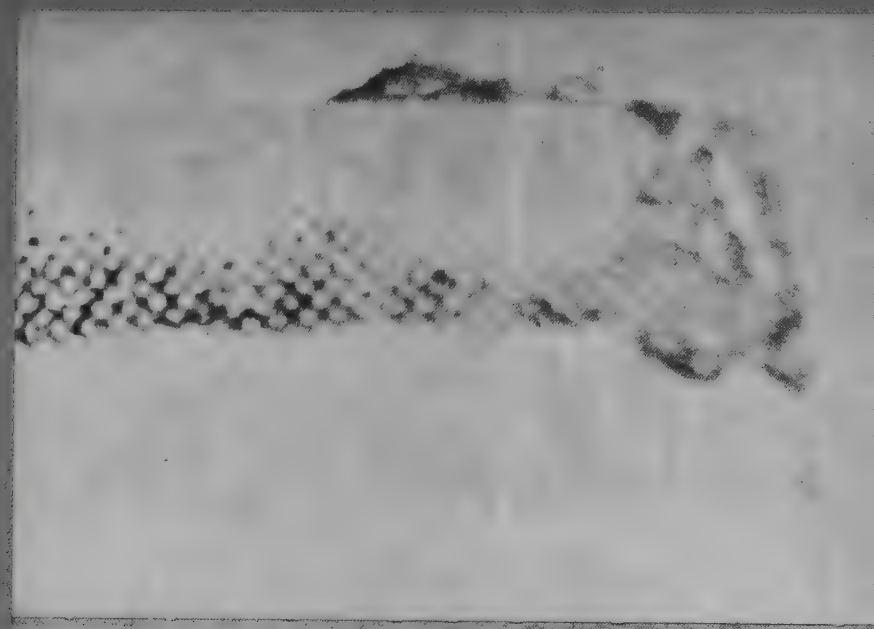

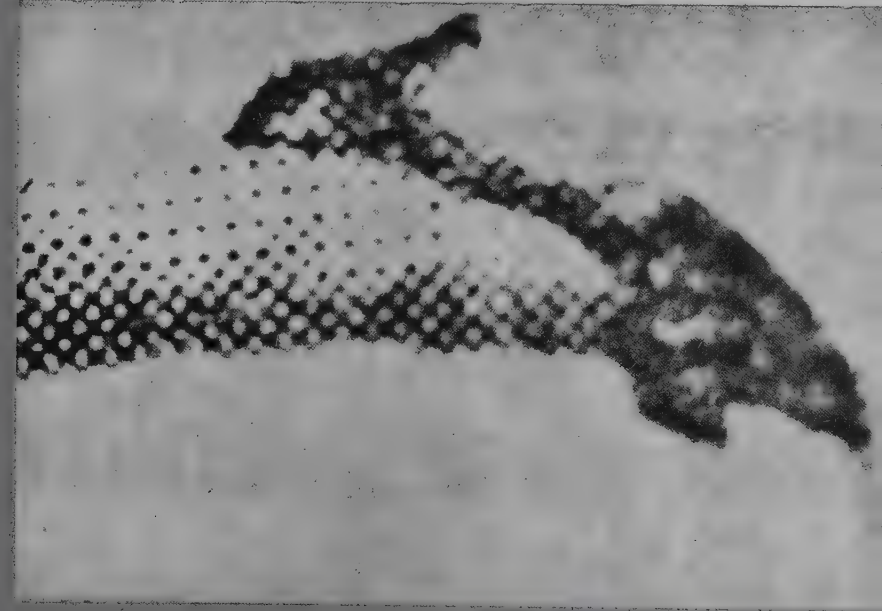

Taki Kōji
"Me to me narazaru mono" (Eyes and Things That Are Not Eyes)

(1)
My discussions in previous sections on the structure of photography do not point to photography's ability to *encompass a totality*. Rather, they point to the opposite: each tim we strive toward totality, we realize that we lack it. Nothing is ever total. If this is the case, then photographs are proof of the abiding incompleteness of the world; they are the result—the excreta—of a performance by the body heading for *unattainable nirvana*. And it is because photographs are excrement that I am drawn to them, affirming that photography is nothing but ourselves and our world.*

This understanding makes possible the immanent method—one that does not sanctify our challenges to endless absurdity and can also abolish the sanctity of photography. [Robert] Frank's indifference was likewise his way of denying the sanctity of photography. Yet, from the same understanding, a contextual method can also be inferred. If we start by speculating that we are overcome by the world, caught up in the deceitful overflow of audio, visual, and other signs, we can consider countermeasures to trick the world to expose its deceptions. Conventional uses of photography yield ambiguous effects in the outside world that often deceive us. We can devise a method from this [awareness], and respond by laying a trap for the world.

...

We are different from people like [Edward] Weston who obsessed over *objects* that can be seen. If [we looked at] a bell pepper, we would be driven by the urge to surpass the bell pepper [in our photograph]. We would forget to discipline ourselves to remain on the surface of what can be seen, falling into virtual nothingness. This insight becomes clearer when applied to people. We are not trying to extract a certain moment out of a person's continuous actions, like [Eadweard] Muybridge with his sequential motion photography. Instead, we aim to predict what follows the actions that Muybridge sought to analyze. This is often referred to as *signs of things*. I can understand why Henri Michaux[1] only drew paintings that looked like symbols. He was trying to paint the core of what cannot be analyzed, and as a result he could only draw symbols. In a certain sense, we who carry cameras in our hands continuously question the meaning of "seeing," while also longing to become "eyes" ourselves.

(2)
A photographer only gathers fragments of film and presents them as such. Film frames that do not portray anything or that capture something unintentionally do not carry meaning in and of themselves. When loading film in the camera, you must first shoot several blank frames before taking any photographs. In this process you may end up capturing your own feet or the ground, or sometimes people, animals, or cars that happened to be there, or slanted horizons or buildings that look like failed shots. Have you ever felt a strange realness in these? Have you ever analyzed such sentiments?

If you have, then there must be contexts in which these meaningless frames—with images that are just faintly dangling in the corners—can acquire meaning. For us, it is crucial to discover these contexts.* I sometimes realize that I have only chosen frames that would undoubtedly be thrown out according to usual standards. For instance, as depictions of people, I would rather choose images that are blurry over accurately focused images and choose those images that feel somewhat insufficient or compositionally lacking, over those that are well composed. This selection process is unconscious and intuitive rather than deliberate. However, it applies to the process of selecting negatives and not to the shooting. Such photographs would acquire meaning once we understand that our own existence is defective, and realize that we should not be passionate about the things that constitute the world, but rather recognize the world's imperfections and feel a deep attachment to them. Our bodies are not beautiful but unbearably

pitiful. How can we feel reality from fabricated beauty when, from imperfections, we feel the weight and profoundness of the world all gathered like fish eggs?

If we pursue this method, we will arrive at something before form. When we realize that the only thing left to do is to look, then the only things that will remain are objects that actually exist. In other words, symbolism ends and non-symbolism begins. It is the beginning of a performative expression. Photography will embody traces of the body, or in other words, the very sweat of our labor, and not the objective of our labor or any other accompanying meanings.

What would happen to photography when we reach that point? Actually, even before going that far, we have already tried to theorize our actions into a method.* For example, to photograph a landscape, I would drive at dusk and press the shutter button while still driving. When I stop the car and hold the camera, I realize that the sensations I was feeling in my body while driving have disappeared. I no longer feel motivated to press the shutter, and I return to my car. What I was feeling while driving was that *objects* were not static, that they disappeared from my view in a flash. I was in a situation in which I was only concerned with a moving vision. I feel that my moving eyes could have possibly given the world a structure, yet when I stopped, the world I saw receded too far to be systematized. When I was in motion, I was being integrated into the world. At the same time, I could also integrate the world. In other words, I was discovering the performing body, and letting the body (not the eyes) systematize the world. Paths flowed under my feet, never to be seen again. The dusk erased boundaries of all sorts. The world suddenly became bigger, at once more distant and closer.

Likewise, objects become incarnated existences when you gaze at them. [Gaston] Bachelard's[2] writings on our dwellings as worlds of imagination provide insights into this. The corners of the house, the cupboard, drawers, and various other objects can become tiny universes.

At that moment, photographers become fixated on tiny *things* and end up being content with merely making copies of them. To another's eyes, they may appear as "Oh, it's just a house," or "It's just a town." If anything, this sort of photography can only be understood as a monologue in the context of the photographer's relationship to *objects*. However, if you just glance at the past, we realize that the reality exhibited by photography, extracted from the millions and billions of "fragmentary images of the world," can be described as deficient, pitiful, merciless, etc. Yet most of these photographs were taken merely to verify the [existence of] objects. As scrutinizing individuals, we can begin to understand the horrors and agony that haunt photography's "visuality," which originates in the fact that photography is both human and trans-human.

To summarize, "incarnation" takes place not only in *objects* but also in existing photographs. This is why it is only natural for photographers to want to perform the very process of a photograph that takes shape gradually, while it is being gazed at. The more you look at the photograph, the more it changes and sticks in your mind. At other times, photographs that initially looked fresh may appear ordinary when scrutinized. Photographs can become totally different images. This transformation often has the potential to destroy dignity, pretention, and deception.*

I once gathered many foreign women's magazines and trimmed their photographic ads. I wanted to see if they could become different images. Whereas advertising photography captures conventional beauties, my trimming transformed them into vulgar, pornographic images.

One time, I found that repeated frames on contact sheets were much more real than a single frame selected for printing. I then developed the same frame many times, juxtaposing the results. The effects created from repetition of the same shapes of eyes, outlines of the lips, and shadows of the nose were intriguing. I tried juxtaposing slightly different frames, but this did not create the same reality. It was through repetition of the faces that they were able to become one face and stop being separate faces. Three rather than two sheets, and ten rather than three: the more sheets the more reality they acquired. Repetition is a compelling, even sadistic force.

In this manner, photographers can transform the meaning of the information that was assigned by the outside world. In doing so, we seize the information that had controlled us, and in return, send it out with our own meanings. Eventually, the chaos of the world will automatically become significant to humanity.*

Photographs mechanically capture the outward appearance of the object. Some people are pleased that their own photographs are better than the real objects. This simply points to the fact that photographs deviate from actual objects. Taking advantage of this deviation, we are able to illuminate the hidden meanings of objects. In other words, we can strip away the veneer from objects and people. It is an act of stripping away their invented authority, which was inevitably constructed by existing in this world. This paring down does not occur from mere gazing. It is made possible because photography operates as a mixture of human and machine, and consequently transcends human perception to reach a level of consciousness. Reality will lose its power and be robbed of its ability to provide a stable daily life. This intercourse between the world and the photographer exposes the embarrassing, private parts of invented authorities. Needless to say, the photographer, living like this, could fall into self-denial, to say the least, or even self-destruction.

Excerpts and summaries from *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero: shashin to gengo no shisō* (*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty: Thoughts on Photography and Language*), edited by Taki Kōji and Nakahira Takuma, 203–11. Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1970. Translated by Sandy Lin.

Notes with an asterisk are provided by Taki; numbered notes are by the translator and editor.

* I deliberately call it excreta because I am raising an antithesis to the assumption that [photography] is art, as stated in Provoke's manifesto.

1 – Henri Michaux (French painter and poet, 1899–1984).

* The context to which I am referring is the process in which objects weather away. During the day, we see objects in their alleged natural state, disguising themselves as merchandise and structuring individuals. As witnesses, we are driven by the urge to expose their deception. Consequently, photographs that deal with themes of absence and weathering may reveal their very own method and deviate from photography.

* It may sound as though I am limiting the boundaries of photography when I call for a departure from photography, but that is not what I mean. What I am trying to say is, why should we call it photography when it has become more than eyes and evolved into a performance? If you insist on calling it photography, you must cooperate with the "eyes" rather than trying to be "things that are not eyes," like the title of this essay. We are caught between the clash between completely becoming "eyes" and becoming "things that are not eyes."

2 – Gaston Bachelard (French philosopher, 1884–1962). Taki is referring to Bachelard's *La Poétique de l'Espace* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958).

* Reproduction also becomes important as a method when it critically contrasts the existing informational network to a different one (one that has been ascribed new meanings by an individual). Needless to say, this may infringe on copyright laws. Nevertheless, without copyright, printed things will be reprinted repeatedly, and halftone dots will be enlarged endlessly. Eventually, only dots will remain. What does this mean? Halftone dots themselves do not have meaning. It is a means for converting photographs into printed matter. It is a method for creating new meaning out of a realm burdened with information and meaning.

* Once we reach this point, meaning will no longer be able to change, and only halftone dots will remain. This points to the limit of the replicative process. Nevertheless, there is one possibility: expand the definition of photography to include the realm of replication.

連載　日本の生態〈10〉

終電車　中平卓馬

Japanese Phases Series 〈10〉
Last Local Train
Takuma Nakahira

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2

終電車が終着駅に近づくにつれて，車内の人影は次第に少なくなってゆく。昼間のたたかいの延長であった，それまでの喧騒はうすれ，かわりに疲労から生れる奇妙な静けさと安堵感が支配する。そこで，彼らは急速に個人的に生きはじめる。継続する寝息，あくび，それから，ゆるやかに回る扇風機の音までが，ある親密さをもちはじめる。 （解説は58ページ以下参照）

1

Nakahira Takuma
"William Klein"

There is an anecdote that when William Klein arrived in Japan in spring 1961 in order to take photographs for *Tokyo,*[1] he started releasing his camera shutter the moment he stepped off the plane. Indeed, around the middle of his photobook, *Tokyo*, there is a photograph which must have been taken at this moment: a bird's-eye shot of a large billboard depicting a tape recorder, camera, and transit radio standing in a line, the billboard appearing like a town wall in front of Haneda airport. Until then, I had been interested in Klein but had somehow failed to understand him. However, I remember that when I heard this story, I suddenly thought that it was more than just an art episode; rather, it was a divine incident, one which Klein himself would talk about. Ever since, whenever I think of William Klein, I am reminded of Albert Camus, who wrote a pessimistic, militant essay on human life, "An Absurd Reasoning," to explain his philosophy of absurdity.[2] Camus persistently questions the merit of human life and asks whether absurdity legitimates suicide; in the end, the question is how long a human being can maintain the balance between rationality and the absurdity of the world. Camus reduces the quality of human life merely to its length.

A French philosopher of absurdity and an "angry young American photographer" (as Gernsheim named Klein in *A Concise History of Photography*);[3] this pairing might appear strange at first sight. However, I think what they have in common is that they share a methodological world perception which is based on their scepticism towards certainty and rationality. Questioning a total understanding of the world through rationality, Camus nevertheless does not give up on rationality altogether. Rather, he views it as the only means to disassemble the holistic world into an uncountable number of fragments. Together with contemporary philosophers, such as Husserl, he advocates a continuous, "cartographic" view of each fragment. Starting from this huge billboard at Haneda Airport, William Klein recorded all of Tokyo's swirling chaos in 50,000 precise photographs.[4] Then he left the city. When Klein, a former student of Fernand Léger and then, at thirty, editor of the famous architecture magazine *Domus*, released his first photo book, *New York*, in 1956,[5] its impact was unprecedented. The reaction could even be called panic. The rough grain, the extremes of black and white, the radical lack of focus: none of this was normally seen in photographs. Most unusual, however, was the complete ignorance of that which had long stood unquestioned as the perceived core of photography: composition. Today, this would not be so unusual; at the time, however, I think this novelty of *more than one form* was literally shocking. It is not surprising, therefore, that his photography, as something so new, became extremely popular, especially among the young. Neither is it surprising that photographers who believe in the art of static framing, which could be represented, for example, by the work of Henri Cartier-Bresson, thought of Klein's photography as an "impudent" amateur game, as mere technical experiment. Immediately after *New York* was published, critical opinion was polarized; rather than photography, it was advocates for the other related genres, such as painting and film, who supported it most positively.

William Klein, and especially his *New York*, are today recognized as monumental, mentioned at least once in every book on the history of photography. However, although Klein's work has now been approved in an infinite variety of ways, there are very few assessments that are critically concerned with Klein's thought.

An impressive volume of photographs, *New York* has been described in a variety of ways: "invoking a sense of danger towards the expanding mechanized civilization"; "the shadow of the worried, lonely contemporary city dweller's heart"; "New York—symbolized by air, water, fire, the earth, and the dollar"; "the bourgeoisie, the middle class, and the property owners—a culture of self-satisfaction"; "a sense of everyday life," "critical of civilization," "symbolic." Many words have been used to describe this one volume of photographs, of which the above selection is broadly representative. But they can mostly be summarized as stated above; in general terms, the work has been approved.

However, I cannot view things in such a simplified way. I think that such comments, repeated over and over again, connect Klein's unstable compositions directly with the anxieties of contemporary people; they connect the grainy, blurry style directly with people's mentality or sentiment; they interpret as if decoding a code. It is possible to describe every single shot of these fragmentary photographs, showing the real New York and the men, women, and children who live there, with emotional adjectives, and to find some kind of meaning. However, I believe that when all the fragments are accumulated, they altogether reject such adjectives.

The question is this: was Klein's viewpoint on people and the world pre-existing, did he then "express" and "unfold" this viewpoint, which could be described with adjectives such as "lonely" or "anxious," using New York as his material? In other words, did he seek to convey a message, an idea, and simply choose New York as a subject to realize this? Did he then only choose and align that which was useful to this message? If this was the case, I would find it difficult to call Klein's plan a success. Am I the only one who thinks that in *New York*, the "good photographs" (or maybe it would be better to say the "effective photographs"), those which appear to symbolize loneliness, anxiety, and restlessness, lose their sense of tension by being followed by an endless number of disconnected images, which can only be called a miscellaneous admixture? Would not Robert Frank's photographs in *The Americans*—for example, the bust shot of a despondent old man, leaning against a wall and bearing a placard that reads "Awake" against his chest; the group shot of young, gay, black men who pose seductively for the camera, holding their hands in front of their mouths; the middle-aged couple, standing on the deck of a ship at sea under a dark cloudy sky of impending rain—show the shadows of contemporary people's frozen hearts far more accurately than those by William Klein?

Rather, Klein turned this idea of "concept → expression" around. In other words, he was not interested in giving a historical, political, economic, or social meaning to New York when creating *New York*. Rather, he approached New York itself without a viewfinder, with a grainy, heavily cropped style: the method had priority. Instead of unfolding a theory of civilization, he decided to approach civilization itself methodologically.

Furthermore, Klein's method did not use conventional means or tools at all; "for methods imply metaphysics; unconsciously they disclose conclusions that they often claim not to know yet." (Camus, "An Absurd Reasoning").[6]

In the past, art was one of the somewhat mysterious human activities, through which people would predict the world in its entirety by simply looking at a single leaf of a tree. Rather than verify things, or search for them, an artist was somebody who would, in his works of art, *symbolize* and unfold the meaning of a world which he had known and *captured* before. For an artist, the world was a completed, clear sphere; the "I" would stand to one side, firm and immobile. Between this non-moving world and the non-moving I, there was a straight line connecting us; our relationship was static.

Therefore, in the creation of a work of art, there would not be any elements of doubt. If there had been something strange or unpredictable between the artist and the world, this alone would have disqualified him. The artist would do everything he could to unfold and show the captured world as effectively as possible to people; this was simply a question of technique.

Unrelated to the term which has generally been approved in the arts field for this method, I will instead use the expression "symbolism." In symbolism, the only thing that is guaranteed is the premise of a static gaze. One looks at the world from one viewpoint; moreover, this gaze has already perceived a meaning to the world. Everything is unfolded in relation to, and even in agreement with, the meaning of a world that has been captured *a priori*. What cannot be seen [this way] is the meaning of an artistic process, nor the continuous change of both "myself" and the world through the artistic creation. The artist's gaze is not a human, anxious one but rather one that approaches godlike confidence.

As an aside, symbolism was a historically effective method, beginning during the Renaissance, which led convincingly to the modernism of the early twentieth century. It is a concrete way of thought, beginning with the discovery of rationality and individuality, passing safely through the era

of "triumphant rationality" and "perfect individuals," up to 1914 and the outbreak of the First World War. Only when presented with the dismantling of the world and the segmentation of its people, a process which rapidly worsened, did we begin to question the convincingness of this symbolism.

William Klein challenged symbolism by introducing numerous continuously moving viewpoints. This is my deduction and my conclusion.

In his book, *On Photographic Art*,[7] the critic Shigemori Kōen writes of William Klein, "the source of his work was his doubt about the possibility of measuring the grade of accuracy of the 'viewing' position. He refuses to measure the distance between the reality of subject and object by an objective standard. In other words, his method triggered a suspicion about the very act of taking photographs ... his camera does not 'view' an object but rather 'catches' it." Shigemori compares Klein, the "capturer of reality," with Robert Capa, and contrasts him with those photographers whose work is based on composition, from Cartier-Bresson to Frank. It seems that we can comprehend the core of Klein's work from this perspective. Klein's no-viewfinder images, images which appear lost in themselves, and his many photographs, especially in *New York*, of groups of men and women between tall buildings, surging in the direction of the camera like a mob, can only come into existence through the white-hot encounter between Klein and New York, and through his deep human experience. I agree that Klein's viewfinder does not prescribe reality but rather, quite contrarily, follows it, while reality in fact dictates something to him from the outside.

I am sceptical, however, regarding Shigemori's emphasis on this point as well as his choice of expressions, which seem to overlook the strength of Klein's *reversed* viewpoint, itself hidden in his obedience to reality and his experience of it. Returning briefly to Robert Capa's photographs, these are not backed up by anything but his experience. He is different from Klein and yet, without hesitation, I support him as a sincere journalist and as a hero of a fortunate era in which living as a journalist meant living through times that made history.

Putting that aside—how do Klein's experiences come into being? This can be answered in a simple way. Writers experience the world through their words, composers experience it through their music, and photographers experience it through their gaze; not only the techniques but also the content of these experiences varies. Forgetting this simple fact would lead to a relativistic perspective. Experiencing would then just degenerate into the simple, method-less experiencing of living people.

This becomes obvious when comparing and contrasting Klein's *New York* with Ed van der Elsken's *Sweet Life*.[8] I suppose that *Sweet Life* was influenced by Klein's *New York*. Comparing their photographic viewpoints, the refusal of static framing, the grainy style, and the violent atmosphere, there are obvious parallels; indeed I have heard that in an interview with the photo critic Itō Ippei, van der Elsken named Klein (and specifically *New York*) as the photographer he appreciates the most ("Van deru Erusuken rainichi," *Camera Geijutsu*, February 1960). Van der Elsken, however, views people and things gently, and from an almost fetishistically human viewpoint, whereas Klein's cold view on children and women appears almost cruel. The children are not childlike, they are rather mistaken for criminals.

Burdened with scepticism about the position of "viewing," Klein nevertheless does not renounce viewing. It was probably in this situation that he first decided to create *New York*. I find a sense of attack in Klein's *reversed* viewpoint. As stated before, in Klein's reversed way of thinking, and—connected to and strengthened by this—in his *methodological* gaze, I see the militant pessimism of Albert Camus, who confronts the absurd world "cartographically" and finds support in rationality, while being burdened with scepticism about rationality.

Furthermore, "viewing" is an extremely conscious act, and works only through an outstandingly rational mind.

The director of *La Jetée*, Chris Marker, has compared seeing Klein's *New York* with having a "nightmare." This is more than a simple comparison; I believe there are great similarities in the ways both *New York* and dreams are constructed. Our experiences in dreams are usually complex; for example, we dream of flying in the sky while seeing ourselves flying in the sky. In dreams, the viewpoint is not restricted to one; instead two, three, or even more viewpoints

can co-exist. The indescribable anxiety with which nightmares can attack us is born out of this. Dreams overturn the sense of time and space of the life we are used to and, at the same time, open our consciousness to a new world of which we never think when we are awake. In dreams, everything appears as fragmentary and flat. Any meaning based on our usual perspective is completely, beautifully neglected.

The surprise and anxiety that people feel when looking at *New York* is exactly the same: the bundle of fragmentary images, the method of flatness and enumeration, a compositional method which could be called anti-composition. The men, women, children, and things have lost their three-dimensionality; the sense of things and the shadow of human life have been taken away completely. Therefore, it is in vain that we take out a photograph we like, and make an effort to project feelings onto it or to comprehend it. In other words, the photographs do not carry a meaning or a "face" that they are named after. They are just components which construct the huge nightmare space of *New York*.

The parallels in the structure of dreams and *New York* are no coincidence; rather, they are the inevitable results of Klein's method. I would like to cite a rather long passage describing the delusionary experience of a girl suffering from schizophrenia, which I believe reveals the (subconscious) consciousness that we have in dreams, and further clarifies the correlation between their structure and that of *New York*.

> *I saw things smooth as metal, so cut off, so detached from each other, so illuminated and tense that they filled me with terror. When, for example, I looked at a chair or a jug, I thought not of their use or function—a jug not as something to hold water and milk, a chair not as something to sit in—but as having lost their names, their functions and meanings; they became "things" and began to take on life, to exist. This existence accounted for my great fear. In the unreal scene, in the murky quiet of my perception, suddenly "the thing" sprang up.*
>
> Sechehaye, *Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl*[9]

After this description, the girl explains her most severe experience of insanity: how she felt as though she were turning into her beloved doll, feeling the doll's sadness. This split gaze evokes a feeling of fear in us as well as an intense empathy since it suddenly smashes the immobile, fossilized world of our understanding, pulling us strongly into a limitless world.

In a similar way, the structure of Klein's gaze in *New York* differs from a symbolist perspective. It is not the static perspective of "me and the world," but endlessly moving and supported by an infinite number of viewpoints. Therefore, viewers who see *New York* for the first time are puzzled over the discrepancy among photographs and get an impression of inconsistency. The photographs show no single-layer gaze with which we view the world. Rather, as stated before, it is a complex or multiple gaze: together with our changing position, the world changes its appearance endlessly. It could even be said that this changing, moving viewpoint is pre-existent deep within Klein's gaze. The world is not a static, completed universe but rather something which flows and changes its appearance, transforming like a nebula with a shift in viewpoint.

With a keen eye, Klein continuously fixes the face of this temporary, fragmentary world on film. To him, the process of taking photographs is not a *representation* of the captured world but rather a *searching* and *recognizing* journey through the vastly expanding, endless world.

William Klein saw many things in New York. From beginning to end, he continued to look sharply and transcribe each of the many fragments of reality which appeared before his eyes: "after that, there is nothing." New York and the people living there may well be lonely, alienated, or desperate. Yet Klein does not draw any conclusions. It is obvious that he did not have a conclusion in mind, which he sought to symbolize and explain. How on earth can people draw conclusions and say the world is like this or like that?

Thus, it is incorrect to view *New York* as a work which tries to depict the city as "a melting pot of material civilization with a smell of death" (Shigemori). Neither is it correct to interpret it as "a theory of contemporary civilization, sensing the crisis of expanding mechanization"

(Yoshimura Nobuya, *Camera Geijutsu*, September 1960); nor as "something which mocks and scolds the culture of self-satisfaction and the commonness of the bourgeoisie, the middle class, and the property owners" (Kaikō Takeshi and Nagano Shigeichi, "On journalistic photography," *Camera Mainichi*, April 1960).[10] It is definitely not a *statement on civilization*. To briefly digress, is not the work of the press photographer of today's society more easily read as a statement on civilization? There are images which illustrate Riesman's concept of the lonely crowd or this easy and popular society concept of "the state of alienation";[11] they are just copies, however, of concepts that have already been articulated before. It could even be said that they are parodies, born of a misunderstanding about Klein. *New York* does show the condition of American mass society and the dark, wriggling figures of its people, who sometimes appear like a premonition of death. However, this is the result of Klein's process of searching and looking, pulled out of this process, and of secondary importance.

William Klein's work differs from that of Cartier-Bresson and Robert Frank in one key respect: Klein thinks of photography as a method of searching and recognizing, as a plan for adventure in an endless world. Cartier-Bresson and Frank think of it as a means of direct expression of a specific view on the world or on life, such as the viewpoint that people are lonely and miserable.

In our everyday life, we see the world as something that has already been clarified. Otherwise, it would probably be impossible to live a stable and continuous life. But in reality, what do we know about the world? Don't we just believe that we know something about it? If this is the case, there is no liberty within ignorance. Once we have realized this, we become extremely anxious. However, what we can do and should do is to face this vast, endless world and, like Klein, gaze coldly at it; we should patiently record only those forms that we can see with our eyes and, as such, reconstruct the world that has already collapsed. Furthermore, the camera should not merely confess individual impressions, such as happiness or sadness, but rather be a weapon against them.

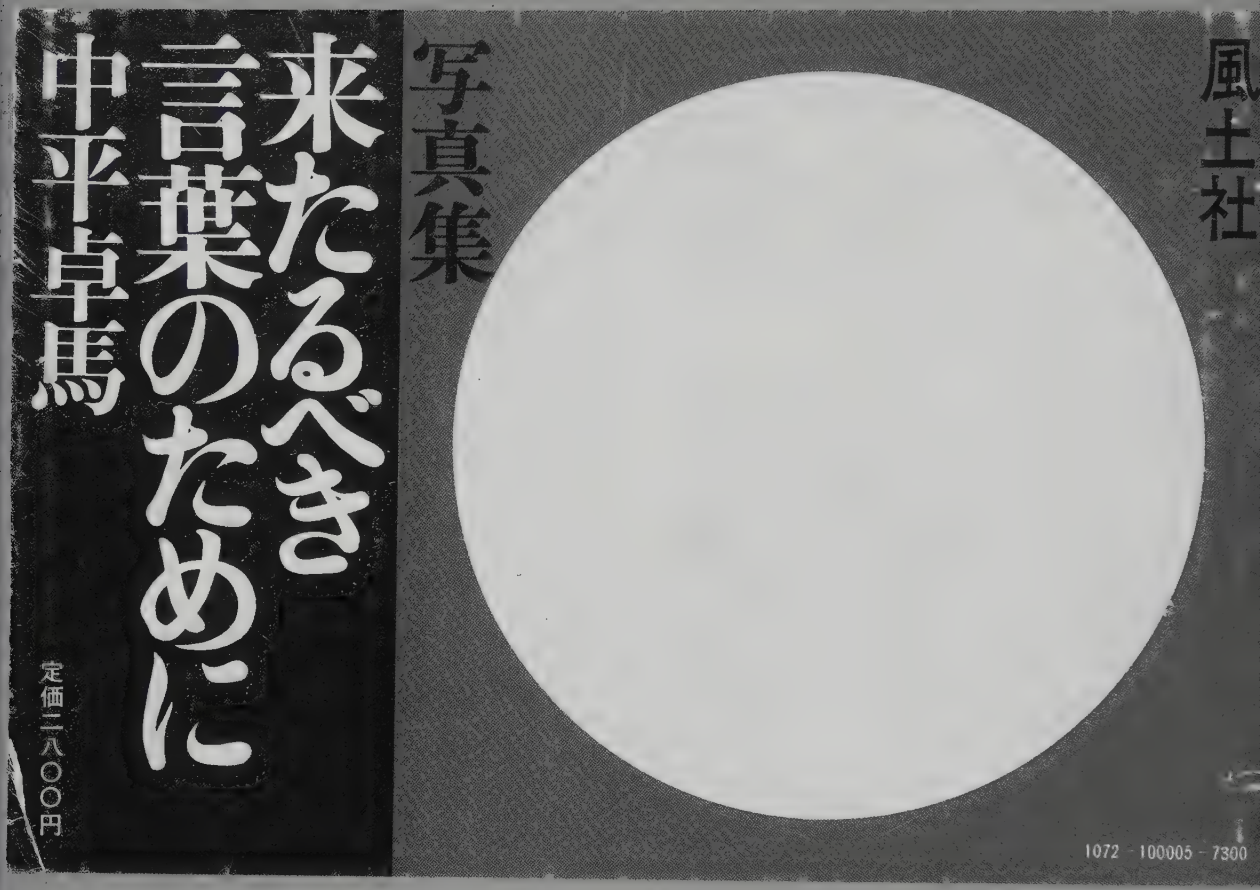
The young photographer Thomas in Michelangelo Antonioni's film *Blow Up* throws away his camera in anxiety after discovering he has captured a murder on film. He realizes that the world he had thought of as stable is anything but: the "world" fixed only as a word. Klein, quite contrarily, starts exactly at the point at which modernity begins to fall to its knees, taking out his camera and looking at the world.

After *New York*, Klein successively published the works *Roma* (1959), *Moscow* (1964), and *Tokyo* (1964). It seems he then suddenly stopped, shifting his focus to works of commercial and fashion photography. However, Klein is said to have recently completed two films in Paris: the short documentary *Cassius Clay* and the film drama *Who Are You, Polly Magoo*. According to a friend who has seen these films, Klein's approach remains exactly as I have described it in this essay. He again suddenly releases the rope that he had previously hauled in, leaving the viewer in a state of confusion and anxiety at the end of the film. Photography and film are two closely related media; yet they are different, as film conveys time. As a result of this quality, all films carry a sense of completion, since the duration of a film is the same duration over which the viewer watches it; I am extremely curious to know how Klein eliminates or uses this basic character of film.

William Klein's photographic work has not been completed, and thus his films too will not be completed or contained. Indeed his works will never be completed, for surely the world itself will never be completed.

***Foto Critica* 1 (1967): 30–36; rev. in Takuma Nakahira, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* (*For a Language to Come*), Tokyo: Fūdosha, 1970. Translated by Lena Fritsch from the first version, with divergences indicated in these notes.**

1 – William Klein, *Tokyo* (Tokyo: Zokeisha Publications, 1964; repr. New York: Crown Publishers, 2014).
2 – Albert Camus, "An Absurd Reasoning," in Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus*, trans. Justin O'Brien (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).
3 – Helmut Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (1965; repr., London: Thames & Hudson, 1971 and 1986); William Klein is described as "the angry young man of photography" on p. 131 (1986 ed.).
4 – Nakahira initially wrote that Klein took five thousand photographs; in revising his essay, he changed the number to fifty thousand.
5 – William Klein, *Life is Good & Good for You in New York: Trance Witness Revels* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1956; repr. New York: Errata Editions, 2010).
6 – Camus, "Absurd Reasoning," 5.
7 – Shigemori Kōen, *Shashin geijutsu ron* [*On Photographic Art*] (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1967).
8 – Ed van der Elsken, *Sweet Life* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1966, repr. New York: Errata Editions, 2012).
9 – Marguerite Sechehaye, *Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl*, trans. Grace Rubin-Rabson (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1951), 34–35. The French original was published in 1950 and Nakahira cites a Japanese translation of the text from 1955.
10 – Nakahira deleted these references in publishing the revised version of his essay, in *For a Language to Come*.
11 – David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).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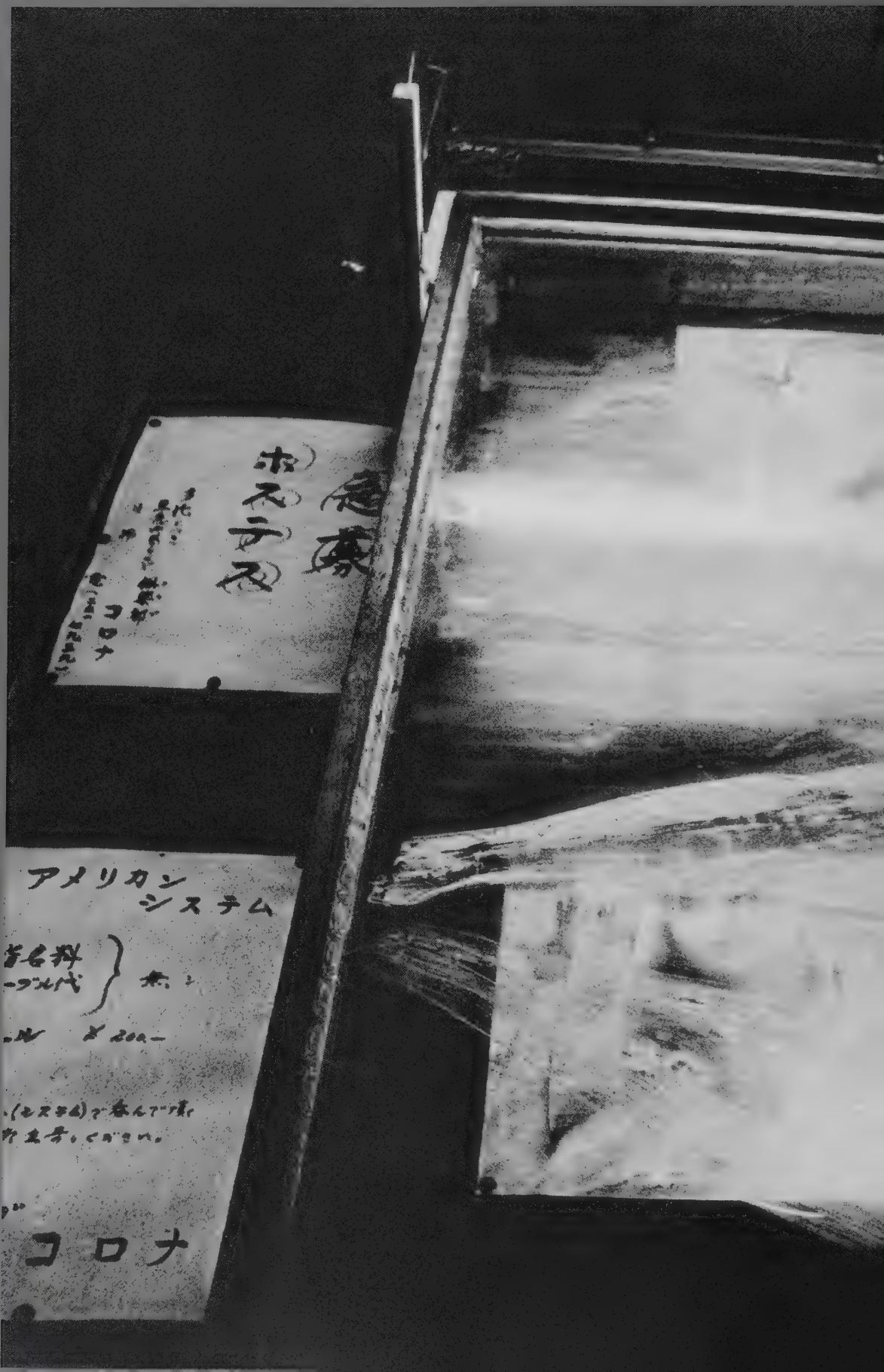
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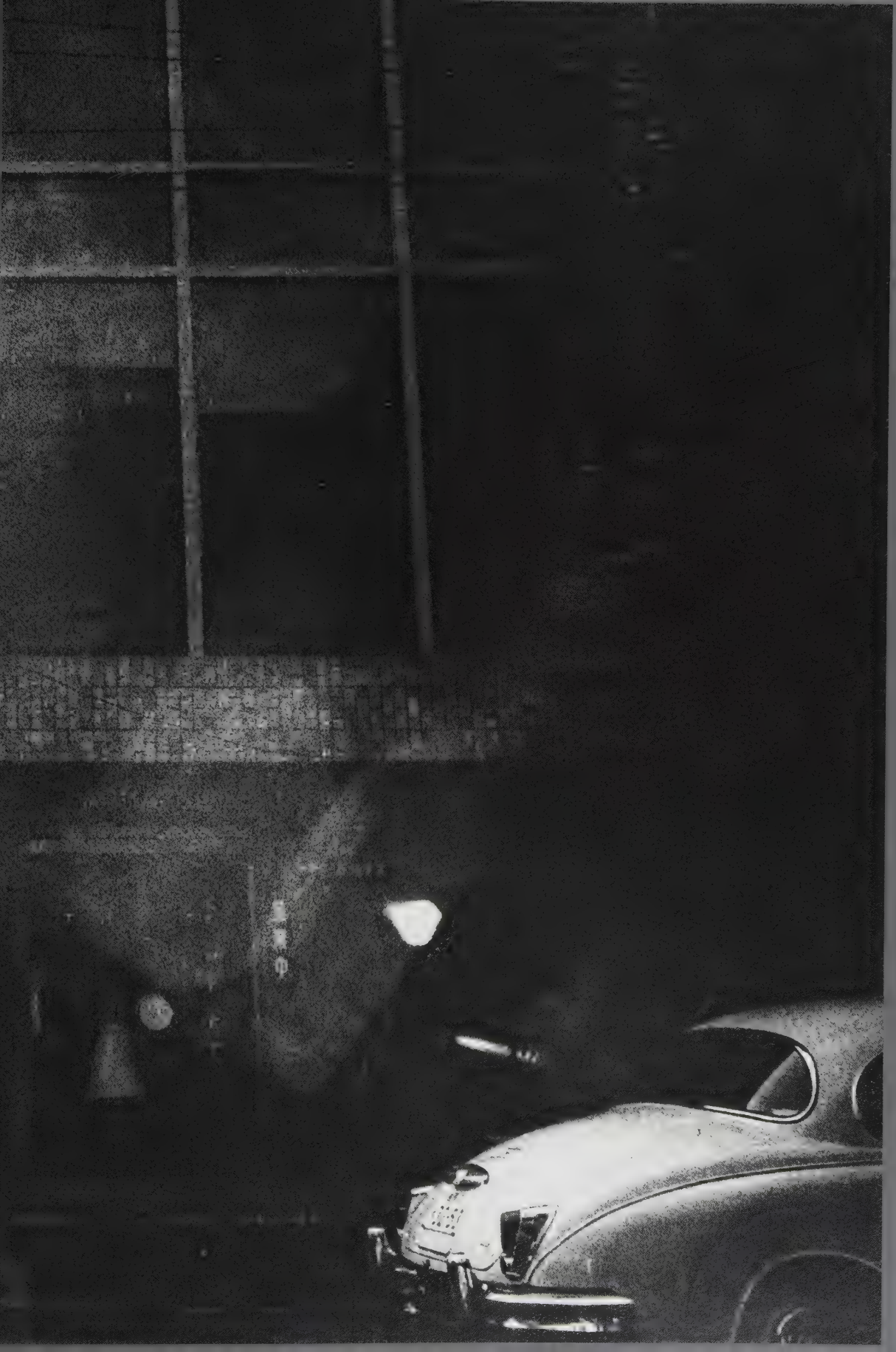

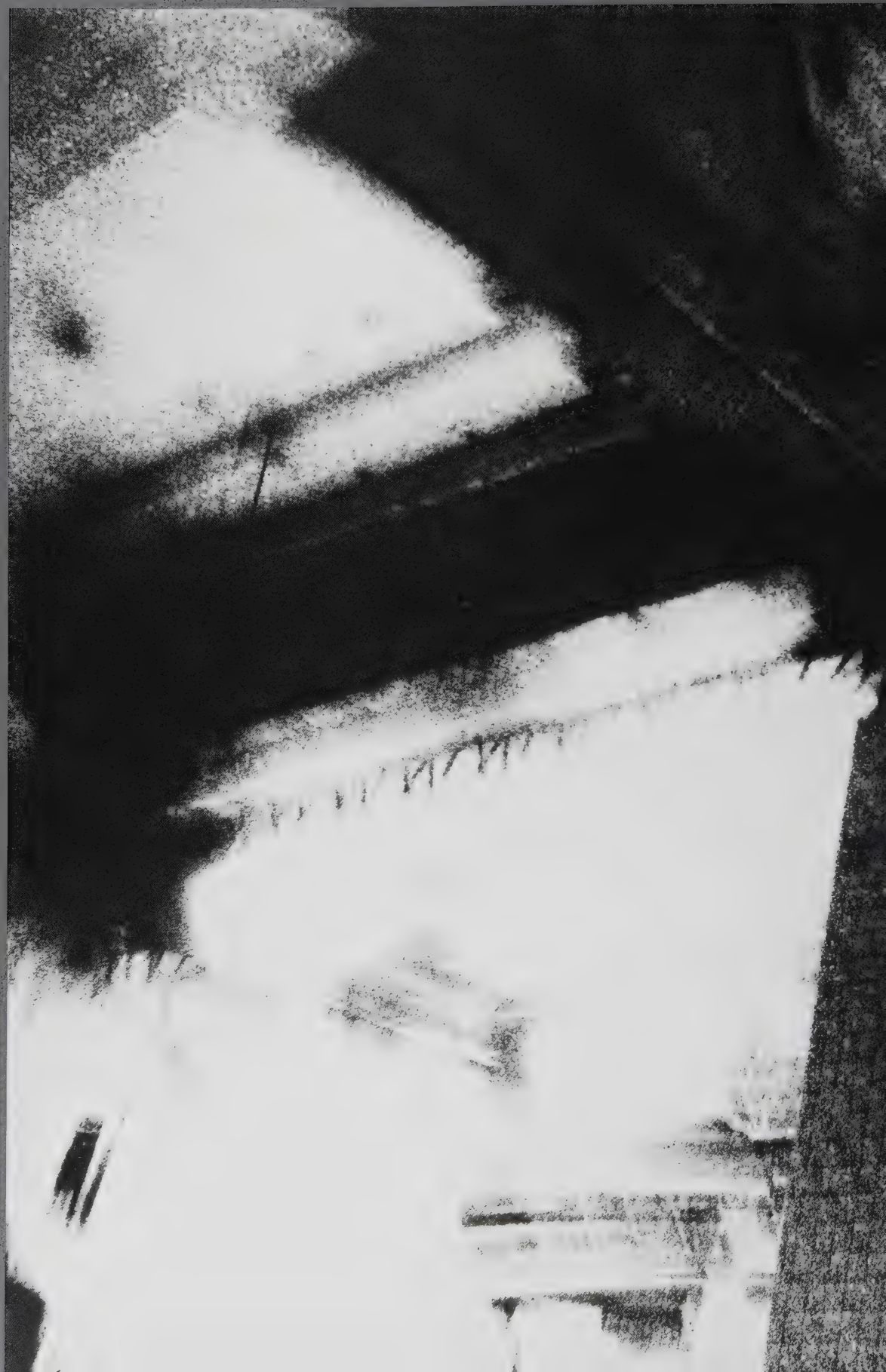

Nakahira Takuma
"Shashin wa kotoba ō sosei shiuruka" (Can Photography Revive Language?)

I previously wrote the following about image and language: "At one time it was declared that images had an independent meaning in themselves opposed to language, and a 'language of images' was spoken about as though it were real. Yet, these notions are surely mistaken. Images haunt language like a shadow, they line language and give it substance, and in some cases, they bring about the expansion of language."[1]

This overzealous manner of speech may amount to pretentiousness; however, my thinking basically remains unchanged even today. In fact, at the time I wrote that essay, I had just published the coterie magazine *Provoke* that my four associates and I presumptuously subtitled "Provocative Materials for Thought." I was overly concerned that the word "thought" had too much of a political or philosophical resonance and argued that it should be replaced by the more precise phrase "language as thought."

In nearly two years, have the photographs presented in *Provoke* been able to revive language in the end? Regrettably, my answer to this question would have to be rather negative. However, first I must clarify precisely what I meant by the language and image I argued should be revived. This question has returned to confront me once again.

What exactly are these hordes of words packed together like sardines and tightly lined up inside dictionaries? While it is clear that this is a language culled and recognized by history as the minimum level of universal symbols, we cannot naturally accept it as a lived language right off the bat. I don't know when, but a strange delusion has taken up residence in some corner of my brain that I cannot shake free. I imagine that once the dictionary has been left closed up on my desk, among these carefully arranged, properly straightened-up swarms of printed words—which so ordered, afford no deep feeling—each letter and each word asserts its own legitimacy, one by one, and a massive brawl ensues. It is then, in these energetically clandestine maneuvers, that the words regain their innate impact as a language. But once I reach out for the dictionary, the words, having perceived me, swiftly return to their ordered state, that is to say, their dead, "constricted" state. Of course this is clearly a childish, demented fantasy.

To the extent that it cannot live without people, language consists of mere symbols that vaguely indicate that a tree is a tree; only through human use can a language be given life. Thus the words in a dictionary, which are extracted from mere relational concepts, are things that transform themselves into what Roland Barthes calls "exploding words," and "a vertically rising up language."

Barthes writes, "The bursting upon us of the poetic word then institutes an absolute object; Nature becomes a succession of verticalities, of objects, suddenly standing erect, and filled with all their possibilities."[2] Although what he is describing directly here is the nature of language in contemporary poetry, we can still say that this demonstrates exactly what lived language is within the history of the present.

No matter how much it may have been ingeniously assembled and developed, universal language, which from the start is embedded within relational concepts, is now unable to grasp the world today. This kind of language is deeply rooted in the arrogance of modern rationalism that says it can be linked within the organic relationships of the world. On the contrary, lived language is absolutely not universal language, a language that presupposes such relationships. It would be a discourse "full of terror" (Barthes) that towers before us in the here and now, discarding relationships with a totality. By merely existing or just by being able to be uttered, they are words, like isolated "objects" filled with madness, that can shake a person. They cannot be the continuous, accessible language that presupposes communication with others. This kind of "exploding language" is a language that has been fiercely lived here and now by a single person.

Images are always images of something; an image fixed to film that refers to something existing here and now. It is not reality itself, but at most emerges from a veritable relation of correspondence with reality. Thus, no matter how much an image "does not resemble" reality, the relation with "it" is always narrowly retained.

However, this is not saying that the image is merely for the self-evident and trivial proof of the pointless fact that a tree is a tree. On the contrary, when we say the word "tree," which is not a particular tree in reality, we only see the meaning of trees in general. Yet, by meticulously looking at a single tree here before us "now," the word tree we had, together with the concept and meaning it held, is slowly forced to disintegrate. Thus, I am describing a kind of image that, as a result of this process, expands the truth that the word tree has for the individual viewer.

The camera undoubtedly fixes the tree as a tree upon the film according to optical laws. For this reason, the image is occasionally confused with actual reality. Photographs like those used as proof of identity are just one example of this. Yet this is the point at which the "when, where and who" of the encounter with the tree is completely forgotten. This is true not just for identification photographs but for those in photojournalism and documentary film who espouse this or that realism. But ultimately, can there be a universal, objective tree?

Certainly there may be such a tree, but to the extent that I cannot by chance be there, the tree would have no meaning, and when all is said and done, would have no relation to human existence. That single tree comes into being only according to the person who sees it. In the same way, what is real is what materializes as something real for me, right here and right now.

Once Godard defined the films he makes as "chanced reality," which hits the mark in describing these relations. It is not reality itself but a second reality that has been transformed and made subjective by my confrontation with it. That is what an image is.

To repeat myself, a photographer photographing a single tree cannot live without relation to the word tree. While obsessing over the word tree like a compulsive thought, as the photographer fixes his gaze on the tree in the real world within the camera's finder, that word suddenly crumbles away, and he becomes a part of its rebirth as a new tree (it is in the true sense of the word, "real").

That said, how about someone looking at an image of a single tree? They cannot expect to have the same experience as the photographer's encounter, of course. That kind of influence (the very word is rooted in continuity) cannot be sought in a single photograph. Just as for the photographer who cited that tree from reality and amplified that word within himself, a single photograph of a tree merely opens up to each individual looking at it for their own re-quotation. In the end, whether the words of each person looking at the tree within a single photograph are amplified or not depends on the depth of its connection with the language of the person looking. Indeed, the level of the image is tightly connected to the level of language.

It seems Provoke has carried out one of its missions. Provoke has reversed the image as the self-evident and pointless proof that a tree is a tree, and, on the contrary, has presented images that raise uncertainty about the fixed meanings of verisimilitude, albeit rather slowly. Yet, even this has fallen into a kind of minor fashion now. By fashion here I do not mean merely that it has become customary, but rather I am referring to the bodies and minds of each one of us who have become satisfied with this. Extremely grainy images and intentionally unfocused photographs, in particular, have already become mere decoration.

Today we must return to our point of departure. I cannot say clearly what form my response to these doubts will ultimately take. Yet perhaps by having made clear that a tree is a tree, it must be something that expands the amplitude of the word tree that has been produced by nothing more than my confrontation with it here and now.

However, it is time to be tested again to see how far this can go.

***Nihon Dokusho Shimbun*, September 30, 1968.**

1 – *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* [*Japanese Reader's Newspaper*] was a weekly newspaper that played a significant role in fostering critical discussions of radical thought and practice during the height of the 1960s within the Japanese New Left and beyond.

2 – Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968), 50.

58 – Nakahira Takuma – *Night* – c. 1969 – Photograph

59 – Nakahira Takuma – *Night* – c. 1969 – Photograph

Moriyama Daidō and Nakahira Takuma
"Shashin to iwu kotoba wo nakuse!" (Get Rid of the Word Photography!)

Nakahira Takuma: Today, we are speaking with Mr. Moriyama, who has been working very actively recently. I actually want to play the role of the interviewer, to draw out your thoughts, organize them, and moderate the talk, Mr. Moriyama, so that I can develop my essays on photography that I've been writing for the series "Photography 1969."[1] One of your recent works is the monthly portfolio *Accident*, in *Asahi Camera*.[2] I've only seen two issues so far, and cannot judge it in its entirety, but the first installment, "Images from Seven Days," is not what we ordinarily call photography by a photographer. Why? Because the pictures are not photographed by you, but are reproductions of television images or news photographs of events like the Robert Kennedy assassination and terrorism in South Vietnam—images that others have seen somewhere at least once before. These are all, with one exception, ostensibly not your own photographs. This must have been tremendously shocking to all of us photographers. It does require some skill to reproduce other people's photos, but at any rate, you merely reproduced them. Yet you claim that the photographs and compositions are by Moriyama Daidō, thus turning them into your own work. I'm very interested in what's next, but let's leave that aside for now, and discuss more specifically the latent potential in your first installment. Could you start by telling us in detail how you came up with the method of reproduction?

> **Moriyama Daidō:** I've thought constantly for the last few years that photography shouldn't be something in which there's one photograph and people bow down before it. I've always been suspicious of photographs existing as art. People often ask me if photography is a form of art or documentation. Without doubt, I completely disagree that photography must be art. It is a self-evident truth that photographs are documents, but saying that does not lead to anything. I believe photographs are something vague that transcends documents. Thinking in the same vein, I wanted to confirm it through my work someday. These thoughts were what prompted my series *Accident*. I'm not sure how specific I should be, but the direct motive was actually my own experience. When Robert Kennedy was assassinated, the news reached Japan around the evening of June 4 last year. I happened to learn it at a train terminal in Tokyo. Copies of the paper's special edition, with photographs reporting the assassination, were scattered everywhere—inside the trains, on the asphalt roads, and on the back of a parked truck. At that moment, I'm not sure how to describe it, but I was deeply shocked. I wasn't actually shocked at seeing Kennedy's corpse lying flat on its back, but rather at learning of his assassination in this manner. There were just countless copies of the newspaper scattered everywhere. The fact that Kennedy was murdered was clear to me. I stood still in a scene like that. I could say, "At that moment I felt the decay of an era," but that's all I could do with words.

NT: Did you not photograph that?

> **MD:** No, I didn't have a camera with me.

NT: Do you think you should have photographed it?

> **MD:** No I don't think so. If anything, the experience settled into me. To be more precise, the experience became my motivation for the *Accident* series. At that moment, I vaguely perceived a fundamental way for photography to exist. Earlier I said that photography is not art, well, to be exact, that there's no need for it to be art. Through this experience, I was determined to negate the values that are attached to one single photograph. Also, for me, categories like television, cinema, or news pictures don't exist. If I were to use a contemporary word, it would be images; I'm interested in the worlds that appear through

these images. Rather than actual incidents of terrorism in South Vietnam or the bombing of North Vietnam, or the Kennedy assassination, I am much more interested in them as mediated images. To speak of extremes, I consider everything that is in front of me the same, whether they are cigarettes, matches, television, cinema screens, photographs taken by others, or my photographs. They are all [part of one] reality.

NT: In that sense, I thought that this is a theory of photography by photography. I'm not saying that you intended to work on a theory of photography, but it just turned out to be one. That's why, when I first saw [*Accident*], instead of thinking whether each photograph is interesting or not, I intuitively thought that these pictures questioned the basic assumptions on which photography is established. It's been overly referenced, but Walter Benjamin has said that with the arrival of photography and film, and their reproducibility, conventional art has lost its value as a unique original, with its "here" and "now," or to use his words, its "aura."[3] I think that considering his theory in relation to your work is very interesting.

MD: Yes, that's right, but in reality, the kind of consciousness that photographers currently have is still the same, unchanged consciousness of an artist. They don't understand it at all. I wanted to thoroughly reject that, and of course, I will keep pushing forward.

NT: That reminds me: I often feel, paradoxically, that my resulting photographs turn out to be "good" (in a traditional sense) even when I reject that kind of false consciousness. I especially cannot get beyond this limitation in commercial settings. It's like fighting rationality with irrationality. But if you pursue your current direction, wouldn't you be unable to make a living? Because in principle, this direction you are taking leads to rejecting the idea of private property. Until now a unique, original work of "art" is the result of an individual undertaking the entire creative process from start to finish, with his or her own hands and passion, whether it is a painting or photograph, though photography is quite different from other arts in the sense that it's mediated through a machine. As long as this presumption [of individual creativity] remains, contemporary social systems will attach values —particularly economic ones—to it. You are fundamentally denying such values. Because, from a conventional viewpoint, you are not creating any work of art. There will surely be a faction who rejects the notion that these are your works, that these have a value created by yourself. There's also the specific problem of copyright. Were there any complaints, such as letters to the editor?

MD: Actually, no complaints have come in. I assume there was nothing like that. The comments I've received from camera magazines seem to suggest that, overall, my readers were able to vaguely understand it. To tell the truth, to me, this hurts more than rejection. Of course, it's a method that I still need to keep working on; maybe it's because it was not thorough.

NT: As we've discussed, you question the originality of art specifically through its method of reproduction. Another thing I think is just as interesting—I don't think you've done it yet, but I've heard that you had plans to—is to publish juxtapositions of photographs of yourself and photographs taken by you. Is this true?

MD: No, I haven't done that yet. Let's say your own reflection is in the mirror and you could photograph that if necessary. That's obvious. Moreover, you could also objectify yourself and point the camera toward yourself.[4]

N: If it's okay, could you elaborate specifically on what kind of photograph you are talking about?

M: Well, I was with a woman ... in a hotel room ... having sexual intercourse with her, to be frank. And I was constantly taking photographs of that process.[5] As I photographed

more, it started to bother me that I was photographing only what I could see—which was partial, I could not capture the whole. Needless to say, the only ones present were myself and the woman. There was no other way of capturing what was happening than for her to photograph along with me. I did end up asking her to do that. I was going to publish these photographs as my own but didn't in the end, simply due to lack of space. But from now on, you can expect to see me in my own photographs more often.

N: To put it in formal and explanatory terms, you first questioned the originality of photographic work through reproduction. This really speaks to what photography ought to be—photographs are primarily about shooting what already exists and not about creating something out of nothing. You can say that a photograph is your own work, but in the end, it could be argued that these are mere reproductions of actual things. Your second concrete method, whereby you ask somebody else to press the shutter, proposed an antithesis to the notion that an artwork is allegedly established through the passions and hands of an artist, predicated on his or her complete responsibility. I actually think that photography by its very nature had always pointed to such an antithesis. Past photographers have hidden or neglected this point, as if getting used to fine art.

M: Why should all of my work be required to filter through me in order to be established as photographs? I was simply questioning that. I wanted to turn photographs that were once glorious into something terribly vulgar. It's like when people are looking at pornographic photos, it doesn't matter to them who took the photographs. To the viewers of pornographic photos, the only thing that matters is what's photographed and how it's done. I want photography to fall to that level first, and then capture whatever remains. I've been thinking along these lines for a few years now.

N: This might be slightly different, but I recently experienced something very similar. It happened when I hired a model for a photo shoot. In my case, I wasn't using the model in the usual sense. I needed the model to be a part of the scenery I was looking at, in which I felt that a man had to be seen running. I really needed the whole impact of a physical body that is created from the body of a man running endlessly in this scenery, with rough breathing, sweat, and wobbling feet from fatigue. It would have worked best if somebody just happened to be there running, but nobody was there, and there was no use waiting for such a coincidence. So I got somebody to run for me. I had him run for about thirty minutes, but it just didn't work out the way I had expected. At that moment, it occurred to me that things might go well if I ran instead, and let the model press the shutter for me.

M: I think that may be a bit different.

N: Well, yeah, it might be a little different, but keep listening. In photography, there's the photographed object, and there's the camera. There's also the subject that intends to take a photograph. This is the natural structure [of photography]. It's assumed that I will photograph, and it is only when there is a photographing subject that the photographed object is brought into existence. This relationship is actually hierarchical. I am more powerful than the photographed object. Yet, as our shoot continued, this hierarchical relationship started to break down. The photographed object climbed up and up, and then at one point, we became equal. Eventually, I would be surpassed. It was just like that. At that moment, I didn't really see a problem in letting the subject and the photographed object switch positions. Now that I think about it, I ultimately refused perhaps only because I wanted to express my ownership over the photo by pressing the shutter. I often say that photography is primarily anonymous. I tangibly experienced that on this occasion.

M: Actually, listening to your explanation makes me think that this could be similar to my case indeed. I don't think the photograph will change much regardless of who presses the shutter.

N: But I do worry a little about what the heck's going to happen if we push this forward.

> **M:** Maybe words like photograph and photographer will no longer exist, to say the least. I think the notion that photographers shoot the truth that exists externally, unconnected to anything, will be gone.

N: Let's come back to that problem later. Last year, you published *Japan: A Photo Theater*,[6] which is a compilation of photographs you've already published in camera magazines and other places. But I cannot believe it's an arbitrary compilation. I was already familiar with each photograph, but when all of them are bound together as one photo book, it feels as though the individual meanings have flown away. I think listening to you talk about this photo book will help us better understand the issue we were previously talking about.

> **M:** That [book] was a restructuring of groups of eight to ten photographs, most of which were originally published in camera magazines. When they were first published, the photos were said to have captured the so-called "popular arts" or "the indigenous," and because of that, I received the New Artist Award from the Japan Photo Critics Association, but I didn't feel completely satisfied with the reason for my award. I wasn't particularly interested in the common folk, the *shitamachi* [traditional urban neighborhoods], or something indigenous. Surely on the surface these things did end up as my subject matter, but this was not my point at all. Part of the motivation for putting together a photo book was to say that clearly. For instance, people see various things from the time they leave home in the morning until they return at night. I had in mind to expose all of that to the public eye intentionally. The history of photography is actually really short. But despite its short history, photography has developed into weird categories, like photojournalism and photographs of women, or alpine photographers and animal photographers. Photographs of friends and children are referred to as family photography and categorized as something different from photography as a medium of expression. I was very critical of this. Heck, I felt like why not photograph every single thing that comes into view. In this sense there is only one world to me. Or in other words, there is a world, and then there is me. It is this relationship that is the world. It really cannot be grouped into genres like "the common folk" or "the indigenous," or in contrast, "the modern." I just wanted to put everything I see out there.

N: I completely agree. Looking at your photo book, I wasn't bothered by the fact that the photographs show familiar faces and things, even though I know these people and places well. All of them have become pieces that structure the world you see.

> **M:** What I see is all the same; [these scenes] are all equal in value. Meanwhile, I'm sometimes afraid of being seen by others. It's a feeling that suddenly crosses my mind. This brings me to what we were talking about earlier. So, I was already photographing a lot of reproductions for what's in that book. I no longer needed the boundaries that separate raw realities from realities created out of printed images. The relationship between the virtual and the real image is often debated in various fields, but to me they are all the same. For instance, I sometimes feel that a real human, or a woman for that matter, may appear much more lifelike and vivid in a printed image than in reality. At times like that, I end up shooting the former. That's for sure. I guess that developed into "Images from Seven Days." In the end, the kind of action I am aspiring toward is, hmm, how should I put it? I can't say it succinctly, but I want to quickly grasp what is the most real to me and then export it. When I achieve this, it will no longer matter who actually takes the photograph.

N: You said that words like photograph or photographer might eventually disappear. And just now you spoke about the feeling of being looked at while you are looking. I don't think I fully

understand it either, but I think you're examining the ways in which the acts of looking and being looked at can be organized in their totality. Trying to organize the act of looking is, well, not that uncommon. For example, there are already methods like collecting other people's photos and editing them or making them into a collage. These are common practices in the world of fine art. But you're adding the issue of being looked at and organizing that gaze. I think this is your ultimate objective. I can't quite quite articulate it, but to elaborate, you position the act of looking as the basis. For instance, by photographing that moment when copies of the news extra reporting the assassination of Robert Kennedy were spread everywhere by the wind, you could have more or less completed the act of looking at the scene. Your self-expression, saying that this is indeed the world, could have been completed by making one photograph. Instead, however, you let that settle inside you and stepped back to incorporate yourself into the scene. In other words, you were conscious of the fact that someone may be looking at you. Not only were you looking, but you were also expecting that you may be looked at; at that moment, different gazes began to intermingle around you. And you organized those gazes—the relationships between the looker and the looked—in their entirety. Such an organizer of gazes could take the place of the photographer. Shall we say, a "visual organizer"? That would be a cool name.

> **M:** Yeah, I think you're right. But I feel that if I pursue this direction too quickly, it could get boring. Whenever it occurs to me that I may be looked at, it is when I am thoroughly and continuously looking at something; the feeling comes suddenly. So I think I will continue to take photographs using my older methods. You can't take photography away from me anyway. Right now I'm working on what I call the highway series, in which I press the shutter while driving fast on the highway. I am keenly feeling the need to move around geographically right now. I can't be motivated to photograph what's close by anymore, like Shinjuku. Anyway, my photographs will keep changing from now on. Perhaps it is no use saying this, but in five to ten years, I think they will become very different from your photographs.

N: Yes, of course. I look at the world and obsess over looking at it, so as a result I end up focusing on myself as a viewer. In that sense, I think I am secluded. But the only thing I could do is to start from there. The world may indeed exist objectively outside of myself, but when I die, it won't matter to me anymore whether the world exists or not.

***Design* 120 (April 1969): 62–74. Translated by Sandy Lin.**

1 – Nakahira's serial essay "Photography 1969" appeared in the monthly magazine *Design*, nos. 117–25 and nos. 127–28, 1969. Each installment had its own subtitle, see for example, "Shashin 1969: shōko bukken" [Photography 1969: Evidence], *Design* 119 (March 1969): 50–55.
2 – Moriyama serialized his project *Akushidento* [*Accident*] in the monthly magazine *Asahi Camera*, nos. 429–40 (January–December 1969). As with the essay by Nakahira, each portfolio installment of Moriyama's series had its own subtitle.
3 – The German original was published in 1936 as "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit" [The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility]. It was revised by Benjamin in 1939 and this revised version appeared in print in German in 1955. It was then translated into English and published in 1968 as "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In Japanese, it was published as *Fukusei gijutsu jidai no geijutsu*, trans. Kawamura Jirō (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 1965).
4 – A photograph in which Moriyama captures his own reflections appears in *Provoke* 3 (August 1969): 58–59.
5 – Photographs by Moriyama fitting this description appear in *Provoke* 2 (March 1969): 34–55.
6 – Moriyama Daidō, *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* [*Japan: A Photo Theater*] (Tokyo: Muromachi Shobō, 1968).

I am a king

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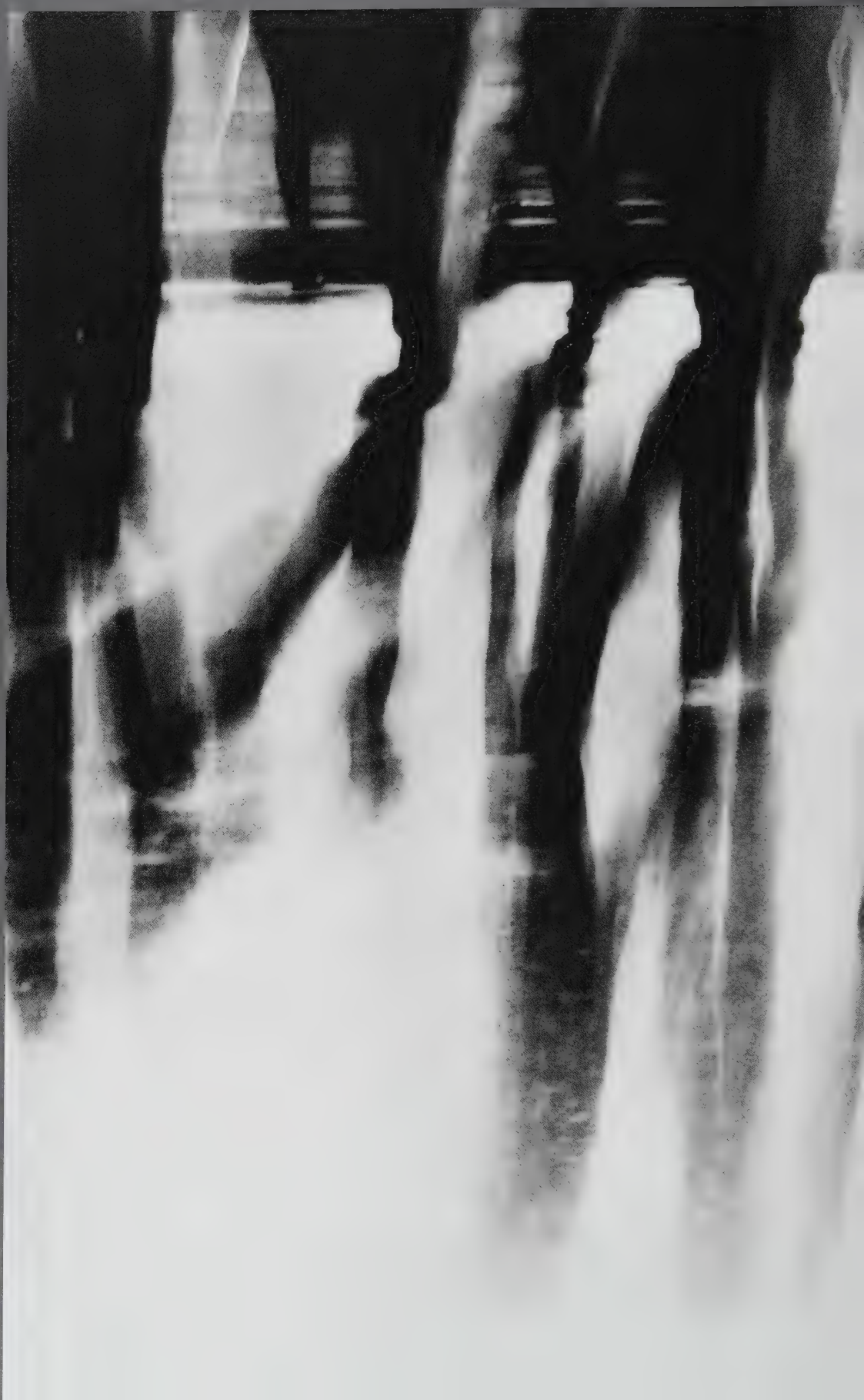
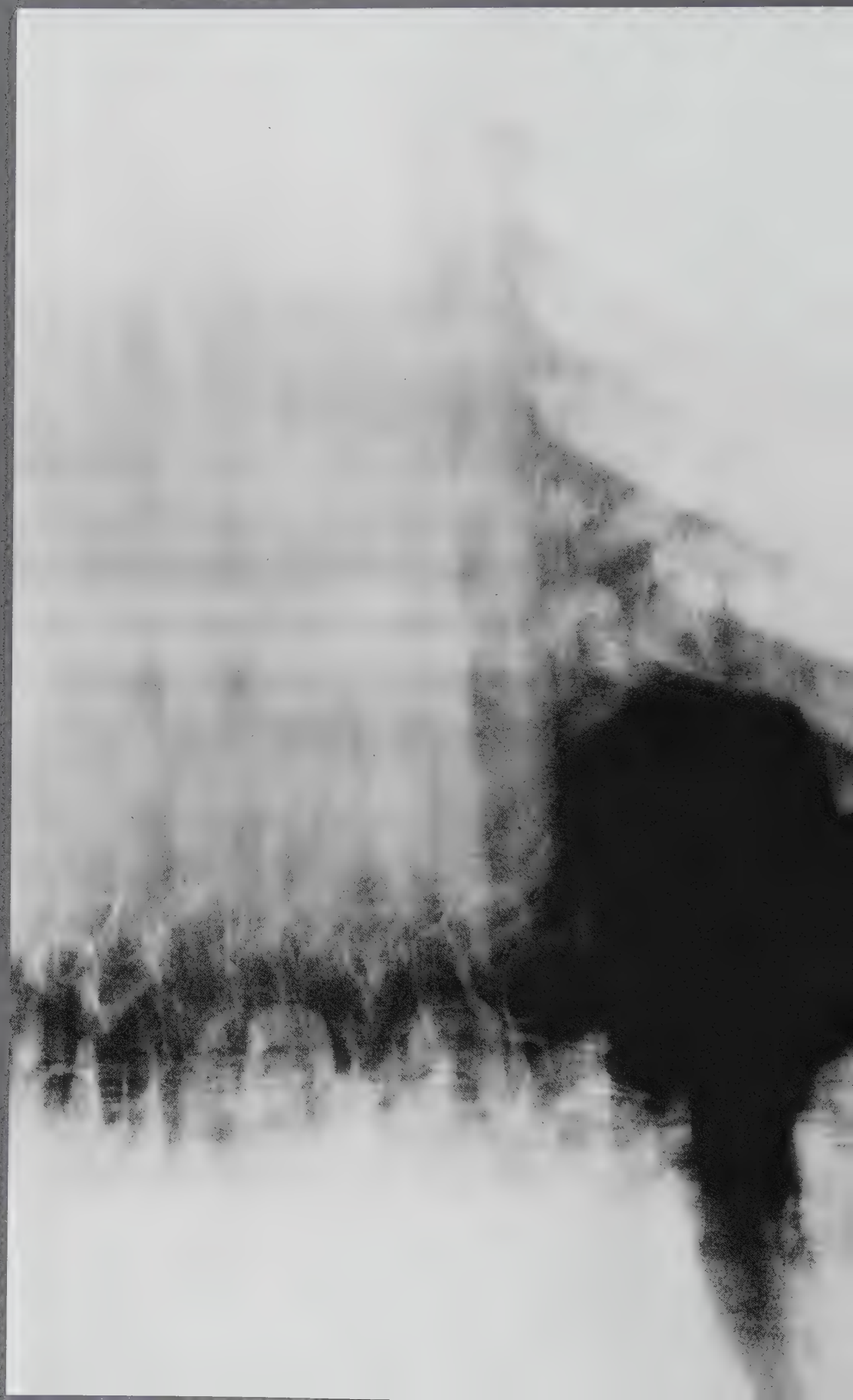
写真　1・5・6・7森山大道
　　2・3・4飯山安政

映画の世界で〈通行人〉と呼ばれる人たちは、1日800円の日当で雇われる端役、つまり〈その他大ぜい〉のことだ。あるときは画面に現実性をもたせるために、またあるときは主役をひきたたせるために、芸も能もなく、ただひたすらに歩かされるのが〈通行人〉だ。

映画のなかの〈通行人〉と、じっさいの通行人の違いは、前者が役割を演じるのに対して後者は通行人の自覚がまるでない。ある日とつぜん、不本意ながら、誰かによって舞台にひきだされ、〈その他大ぜい〉ではなく主役として脚光を浴びる。　**文・構成　東松照明**





〈連載〉 アクシデント・8

デビ夫人と津川雅彦氏

ヤングレディ・女性セブン・週刊平凡より

スタア

Premeditated or Not 〈8〉

Celebrities Hiromichi Moriyama

解説 151～153 ページ参照

複写・構成 森山大道

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3

〈連載〉 アクシデント・10

黒い日曜日

Premeditated or Not 〈10〉

Sombre Sunday Hiromichi Moriyama

解説 163 – 165 ページ参照

森山大道

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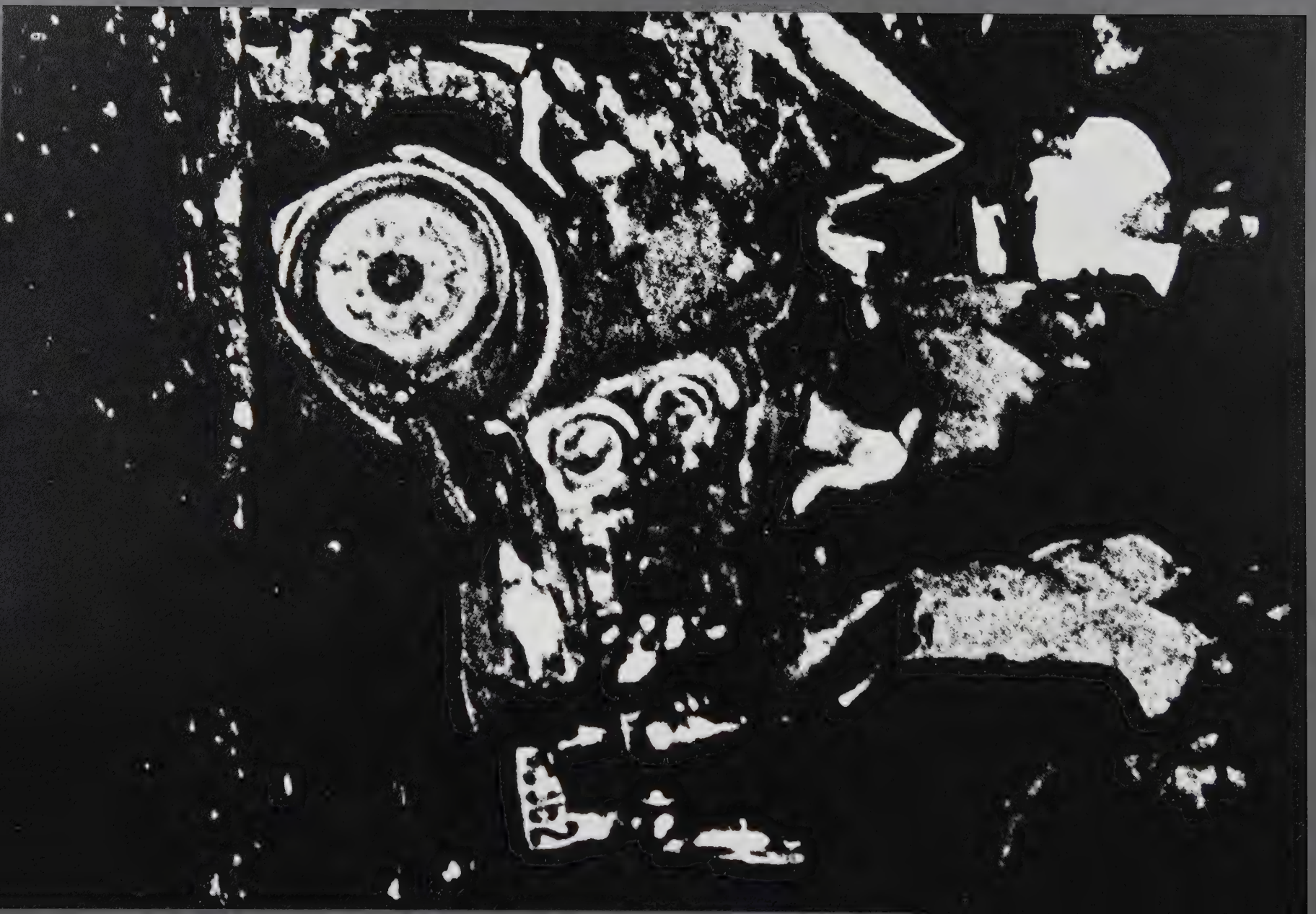
3

64 – Moriyama Daidō – *Untitled* from the series *Accident*, 1960 – Photograph

65 – Moriyama Daidō – *Untitled,* from the series *Accident* – 1969 – Photograph

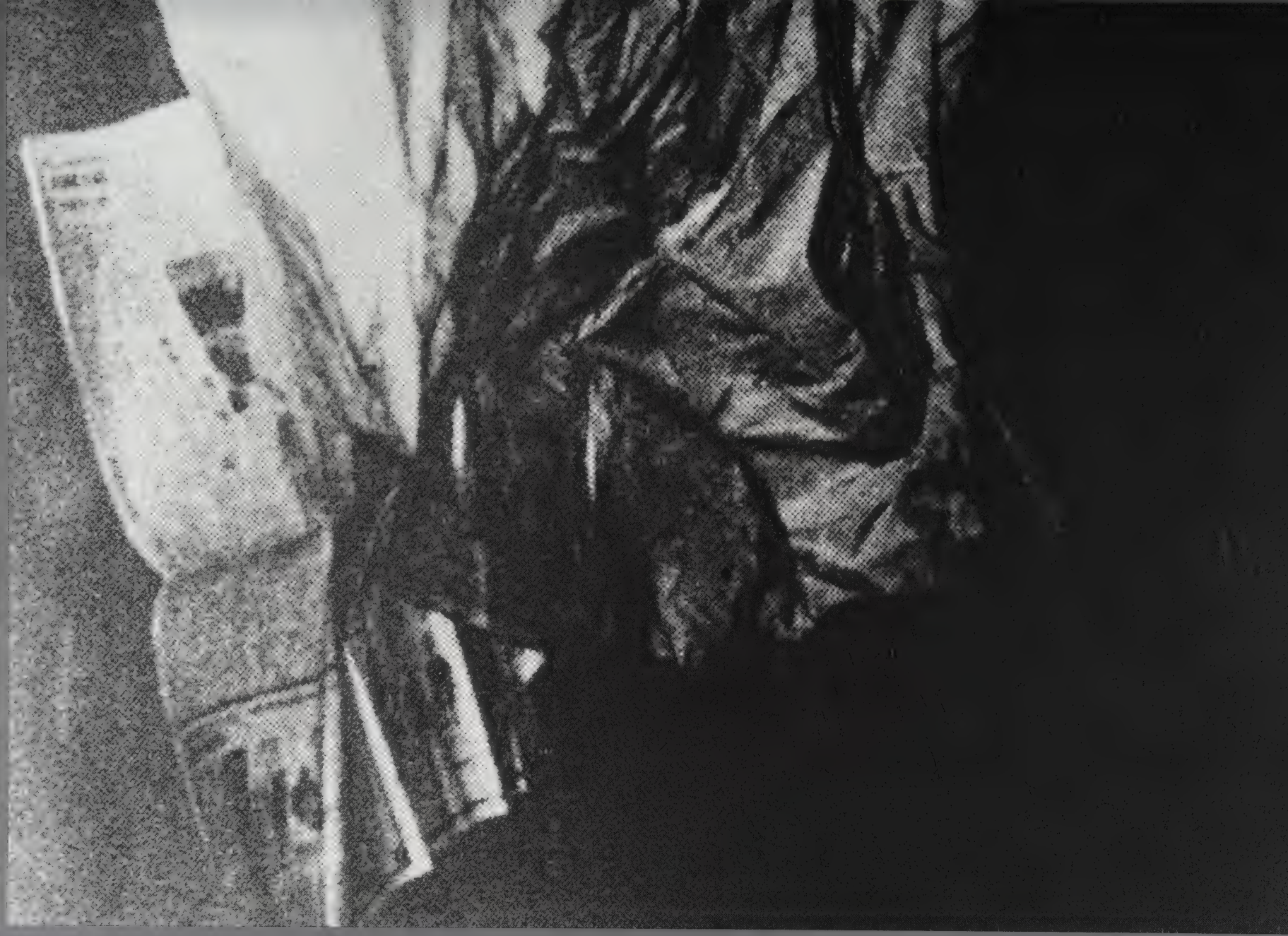


66 – Moriyama Daidō, *Untitled from the series Accident*, 1969, Photograph

67 – Moriyama Daidō – *Untitled*, from the series *Accident* – 1969 – Photograph

68 – Moriyama Daidō – *Untitled*, from the series *Accident* – 1969 – Photograph

69 – Moriyama Daidō – *Untitled*, from the series *Accident* – 1969 – Photograph



70 – Moriyama Daidō – *Untitled*, from the series *Accident* – 1969 – Photograph

×月×日　針生一郎、三木多聞両氏の連名で毎日新聞社よりの封書が届く。第10回「現代日本美術展」出品可否の問い合わせだった。

クリストの作品ではない、女通行

虫けらのように公開射殺されたシージャック犯山春、権力によってアウトローと規定され、はっきりと三派系学生とは区別された。死の直前、彼の眼に映った光景は？

駆逐された死体。〈朝の通勤ラッシュへの

ボクにとって、一時のカリスマ的存在だった1本の木。毎日ロスカ線の車窓から一瞥ずつ見たものだったが、いまはもうない。

美術展」の件、ペンディングままである、とはいってくこだわり続けていたわない。要するにほったらいるだけ。

場所は知らない。いわばどこにでもあるコンポラ的風景。ただし右よりにムシロをかぶった死体がある。つまり貨物車の列車事故現場写真を複写したもの。

近ごろ、とみに哀しみがイヤ増したボク、つまり倉山夫道。本人は自々として収拾のつかない世界にオッポリ出されているつもりなのだが、ヤタラとメシのうまいのが疑問。

フト、「現代美術展」のこい出す。あわてて手紙をさ出し、そそくさと出品可のを出す。何をやろうか？なはもちろん全然考えていな

カナシクて、オゾマシクて、オカシイ、例のごとき男と女の構図。

日刊現代

日刊現代

エバ・ロビンソン夫人

昨年、プラザ・ディックいた〈スキャンダル展〉ルを「現代美術展」に持うと思いつき、パネル屋したらすでにナシ、残念仕方がない写真でやるか

それにつけても、ボクの気持の何と自々しいことかと、四六時中思う。そして、自々しいということですべてをウヤムヤにしてゐような気がして、またさらに自々しくなってしまう。

近ごろはカメラをほとんどもたない。つまり全然撮る気にならない。実業の世界に飛び込みたいといつも夢想している。何でアナタは写真をやめないのだ！と学生にシカラレル。ワカラナイ…

ボクの好きなもの二つ。集山・長者ケ崎から望む海と、一人娘の道子。彼女をみるとボクは相対的に哀しみを感じる。生まれてきてスミマセンて感じだ。

前を歩く女の髪を愛しながら、多木浩二さんのオフィスに遊びに行く。ボクがノッケから狂門の話を始めたら、笑いをかみころしながら多木さんはテイネイに話してくれた。

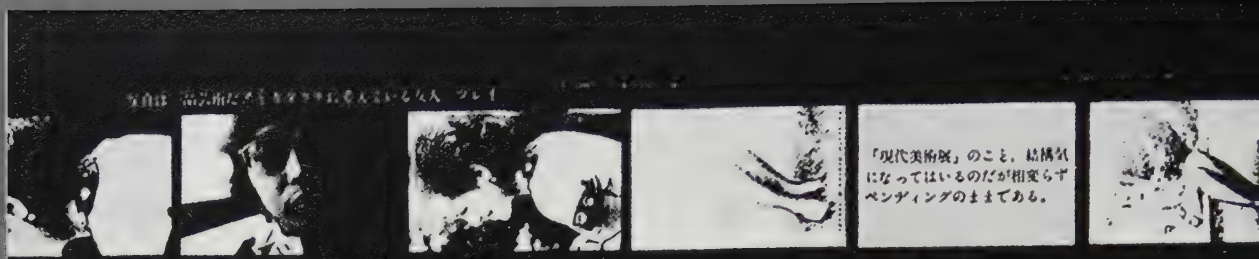
一連の写真が、ボクの、歴史、時代の認識のベースである。といったらオーバーか？ホナル・アンバサダーによる観光のルケネデイ。

つまりこれらの写真は、ボクの好きな言葉〈風景感〉などではとうてい律しきれない、超えたものだと思う。

「現代美術風」にこれらの写真群とソンミ村の写真、ベトナムでの捕虜処刑などの写真を集めて再写構成しようかと本気で考えたのだが、結局ヤメてしまった。

この頃、こんなスケッチばかり描いている。相変らず写真は撮っていない。絵を描き始めようと思っている。タブロー意識を否定しながら、再びタブローを志向しているのではないか？

つまり、手仕事がしたいのだろう。機械を介したくないのだろう。それともウェッセルマンにイカレちゃったのかな。

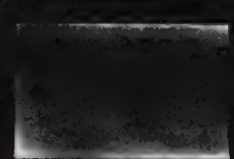


「現代美術展」のこと，結構気になってはいるのだが相変らずペンディングのままである。

ボクと同じく善良なる堤子市民，風土社の浜田八朗さん，オット忘れてはいけない，もう一人居るぞ，中平卓馬さんが。

アサヒ・カメラの連絡の撮影に，関関，山陽の旅に出る。〈あやまちはふたたびくりかえしません〉とは一体……？　ボクはなぜか市電の走る光景に終始こだわりつづけてしまった。

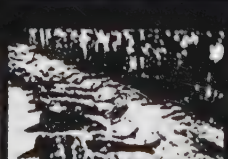
ボクがひねもすのたくっている仕事場。俗悪なモルタル造りでもマンションという。見得坊のボクは，人さまにはマンションといえないでアパートといっている。

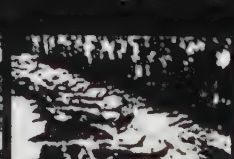


時々仕事を手伝ってくれる西村多美子さん。女に写真は向いてないヨというと本気で怒ってつっかかってくる。ノンベエのフリーカメラマン。

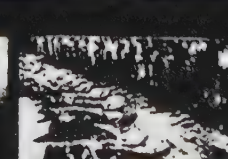
「現代美術展」の作品(?)てしまう。とに角，いよ
には写真で出すとしたら，んど画像のないベタ焼き
て提示するほかはない。

真狂間同の造作も，何のひっかかりも何もないような風景。ボクにはそれが一番コワイ，そして気になる。でも自分でシャッターを押すとダメだ，無数の子供にカメラを持たせて撮ってもらいたい。





人間は絶対に貧くならないうのがボクの考え方。大そしてこれからもズッとえんとつづく民衆の被害史。



ボクは〈町〉という字も〈街〉という字も大好き。いまボクのココロの内なる〈マチ〉をボクは構築しようとしている。
「現代美術誌」のタイトルを決めてくれとTELがある。喫茶店でコーヒーを飲んでいるとhybridという単語がフト思い浮かんだ。早速TELして、それに決めてしまう。
東横電車に乗って多摩川こさ元のアパートに遊びに行く。もとプロヴィータの事務所があったところ。ボクは可成り経済に多本さんはボソボソと沈着に〈白々しい〉ことについておしゃべりする。
一年ぶり位で、デザイン編集部の奥田昭生さんと宮益坂のトップで会った。この原稿の依頼である。ナカナカ人の悪い企画だと思ったが、オモシロイですねといって引き受けてしまった。
ボクは女の身体の部分ではオシリが大好きである。つまり、きわめてノーマルなのである。
先日、知人から北欧のポルノグラフィを送ってもらう。極彩色の○○ン○写真は、ちっともエロティックではない。きわめて生理学的、解剖学的で思わずエリを正す(?)。
オクテのボクは、このごろ太陽に飢える。つまり天気の良い日中だけがボクの生活であり、時間である。地中海に面した白い町〈オウン〉に憧れる。〈真っ白な太陽のせいで……〉などと気障なことをいってみたい。

写真映像シリーズ1／森山大道写真集

写真よさ
ようなら

森山大道 対談 中平卓馬

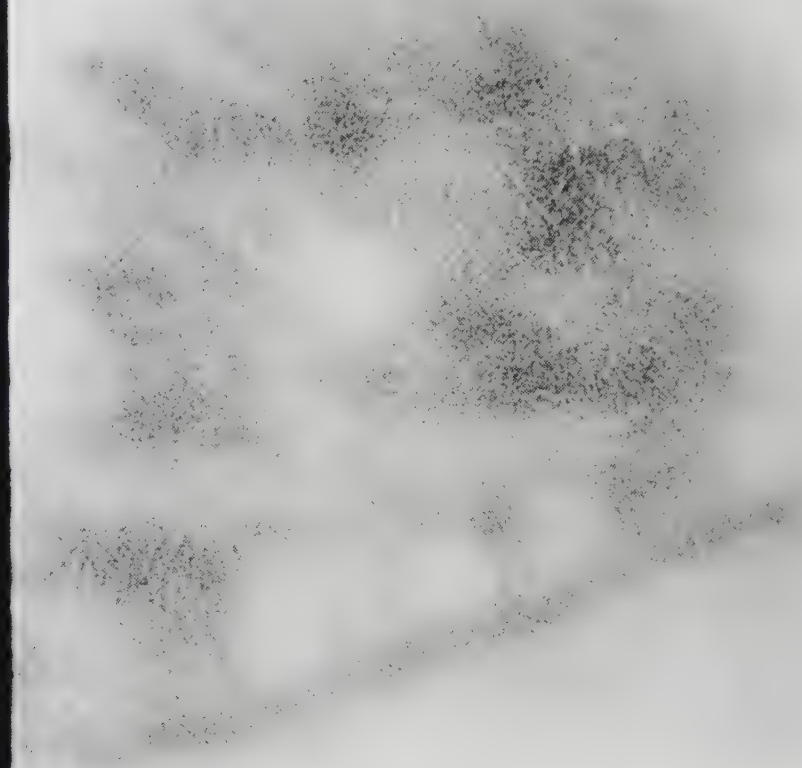
8月2日山
の上ホテル

写真評論社　定価1,400円

写真よさようなら

中平卓馬 対談 森山大道

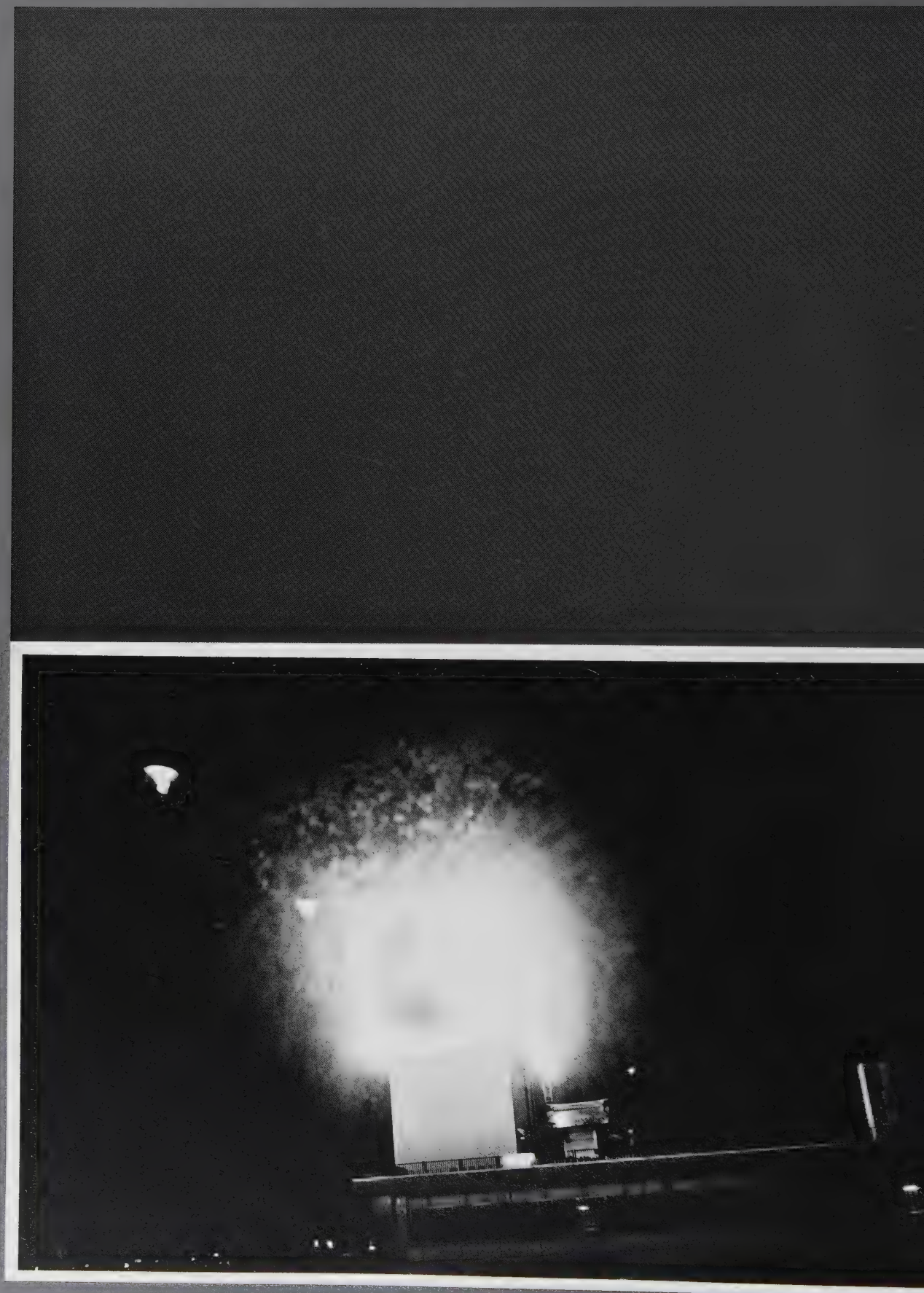
8月2日山の上ホテル



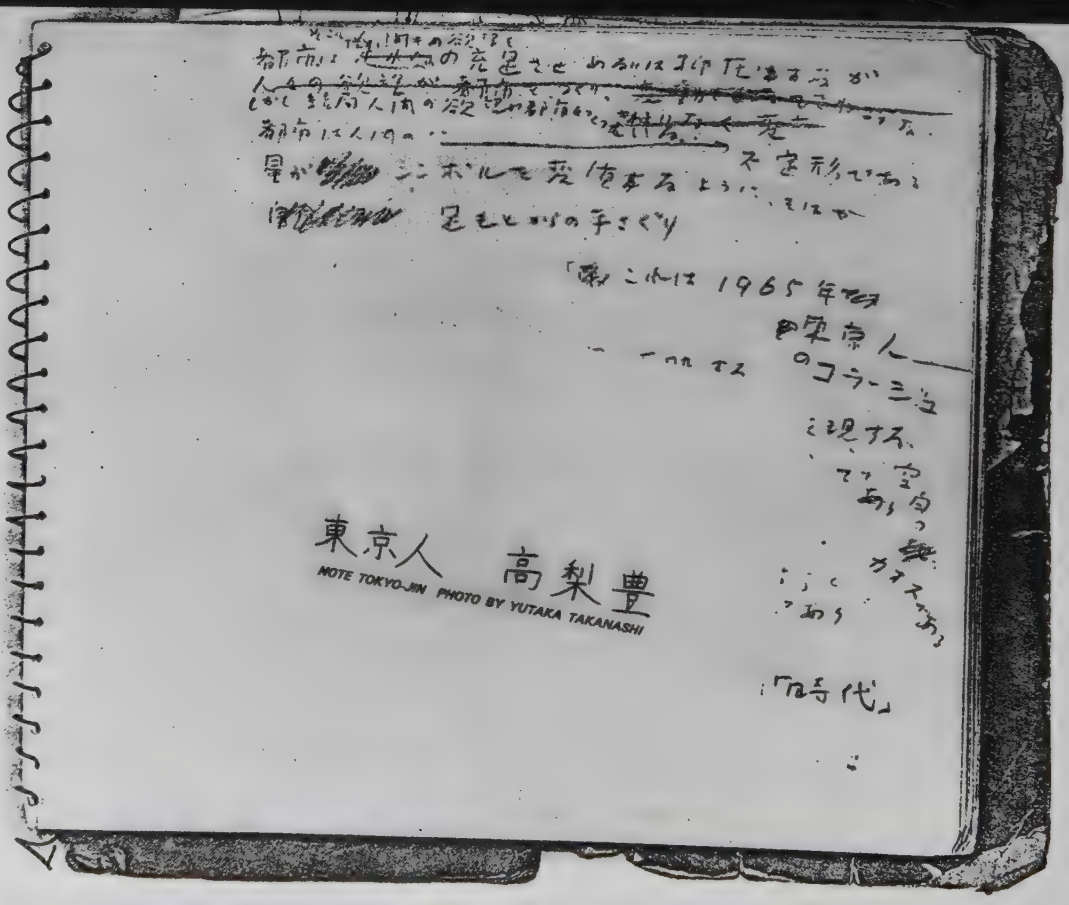
都市へ TOWARDS THE CITY

高梨豊 PHOTO BY Y.TAKANASHI 作品集

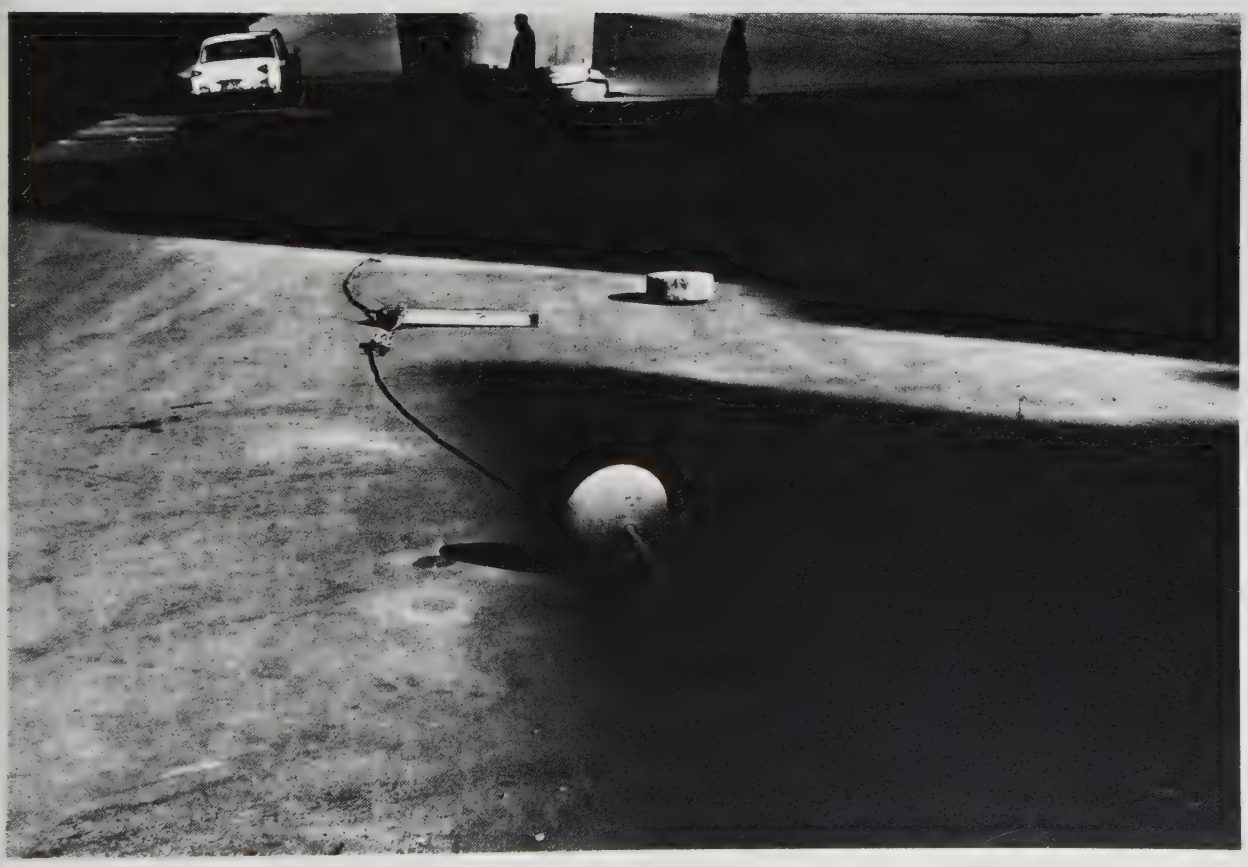
73 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Towards the City* – 1974 – Book



東京人
NOTE TOKYO JIN
PHOTO BY
YUTAKA TAKANASHI
高梨豊



東京人　高梨豊
NOTE TOKYO-JIN PHOTO BY YUTAKA TAKANASHI



Takanashi Yutaka
"Hiroiya to karyūdo no kattō: 'Tokyo-jin' no ichinen kan"
(Struggles between the 'Gatherer' and the "Hunter": A Year of "Tokyoites")

Cities during the Renaissance were spaces with a single perspective, based on a reality of humanity as a "public square." Contemporary cities are spaces filled with multiple realities and perspectives called "interchanges" with matter. Crushed, the core of the humanistic montage/perspective has lost its divine powers and the only way to recover this lost viewpoint is through an anti-perspectival collage made from walking and searching on your own. This is a record of December 1964—November 1965: Tokyo-jin *(*Tokyoites*) and a collage of an "era."*

This series started on December 29, 1964, when I photographed people departing from Ueno station to head home. Having left their hometowns to dwell in an area called Tokyo, they were going home for the holidays, adorned with the traces of the city. The scene provided an excellent motif to explore "Tokyo" inductively. If I were to photograph with my usual approach, I would have captured the scene as the emblem of "Tokyo" and put an end to the theme. Yet I started this series by abandoning that [attitude]. What is in front of my eyes? What are they doing? When viewed with such a dispassionate gaze, the emblematic "Tokyo" scene of people leaving the city for home became just another ordinary scene during the year-end holiday season.

Quantity transforms quality, which in turn transforms the quality of representations. The city, at the forefront of contemporary civilization, epitomizes this phenomenon. That is to say, representation became an omnipotent god only in the spiritual domain. By contrast, in a topological domain where bits of matter intersect with each other, a one-way viewpoint becomes invalid. The only clue to understanding this organism called civilization will be found in the scars created by being torn between vacillating perspectives and a single, personal viewpoint.

In other words, I am constantly caught up in the troublesome wavering between the desire to abstract things for personal "expression" and the desire to materialize "records."

This is augmented by the obvious fact that "photographs become the past as soon as the shutter is pressed." My aspirations to express an "era" simultaneously demand that I also photograph my intuitions for the future. When a photograph is shot, the traps that the mastermind set up with future predictions in mind pass through the present and knock him down into the abyss of the past.

Come to think of it, I seemed to have let two opposing creatures reside in my body when I started this series. One was the "image hunter," who aimed to shoot only the invisible. The other was the "gatherer of scraps," who could trust only what was visible. One day in July, when half a year had passed, the "hunter" suddenly told me that I had captured "Tokyo Man"—so let's wrap up the series. The "gatherer," getting tired of the repetitive daily routine, was also thinking about quitting. But after two or three days, new garbage started to flicker before my eyes.

"Oh! There are images scattered over there!"

Perhaps the "gatherer" collected images to fulfill his duties as the "witness of history," while the "hunter" photographed for personal expression, driven by dazzling illusions. In any case, by November, I had developed more than three hundred negatives.

The editing process was difficult. I did not compile the photographs into a so-called montage that followed the narrative structure: introduction, development, twist, and conclusion. Instead, I tried to include as many photographs as possible like an endless tape without a beginning or end. But the struggles between the "gatherer" and "hunter" continued here, too. Nonetheless, the "two creatures" managed to select forty-three photographs by embracing each other over the sorrows of photography, which cannot manage without confidence in one's own point of view. My captions renounced their passive roles as explanatory aids to photographs. Instead, with the consciousness of a camera selecting its subject matter, I collected phrases from television commercials, newspapers, weekly magazines, and books, all of which were flowing through the same city,

"Tokyo." In doing so, I aimed to incorporate the captions into the language of the same [one-year] "era." I chose to indicate the precise time and place of each and every photograph. Tokyo has several unfavorable nicknames, such as "crazy city" or "the big countryside." When people use these nicknames, they generally feel at ease and no longer try to examine the details. No matter how splendid it is, any understanding of Tokyo that is based on an oversimplification is just feeding past ideas and merely completing past knowledge.

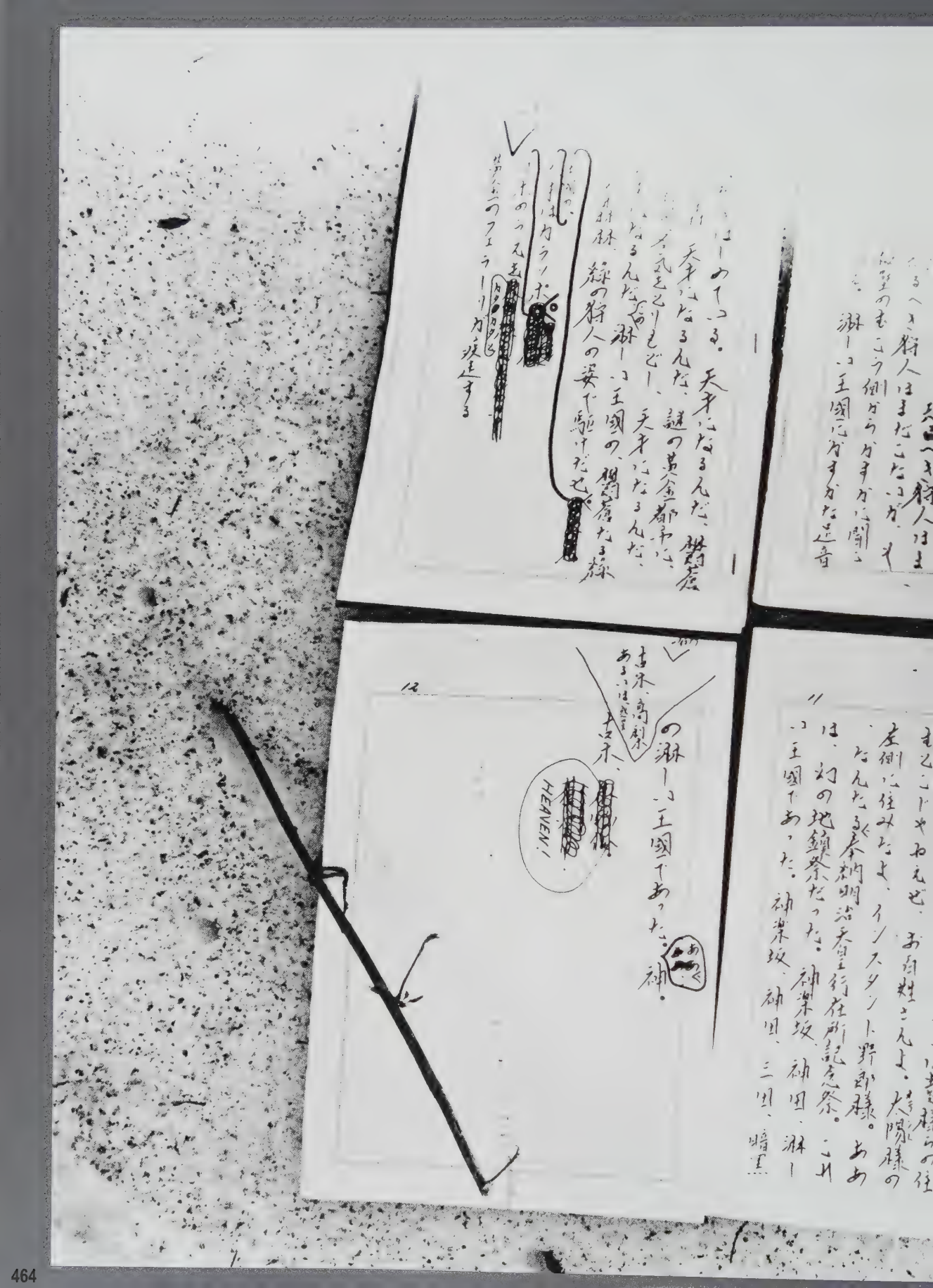
Once I was out drinking with an avant-garde photographer whom I respect and love. He warned me, spitting out his words: "Only releasing one work a year? You're going to be betrayed by photography." Indeed, in photography, self-innovation is achieved through the repeated act of shooting and spewing out what you shoot. A healthy performance of photography should be one in which the continuous act of vomiting determines your next subject and alters your perspectives. Perhaps I deserve to be betrayed by photography because for around a year, I neglected to carry out this act of excretion. The words of a senior photographer who has pursued a single theme throughout his career genuinely urged me on and became words of encouragement.

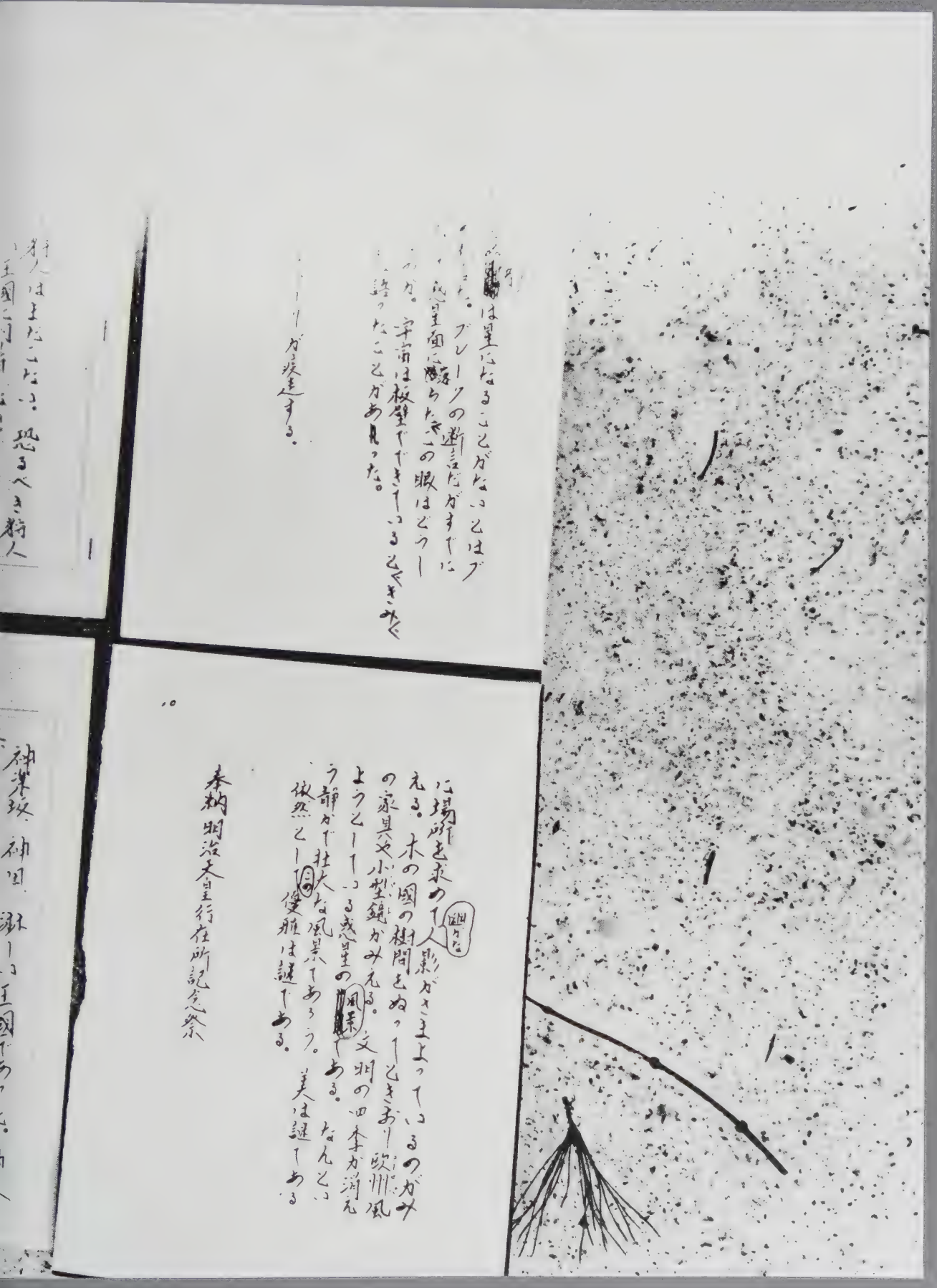
Having reached a provisional conclusion with the series, I am excited above all for its imminent "betrayal." How will I be betrayed and what viewpoints will I be able to recover?

I'm sure that my "hunter" and "gatherer" are both waiting eagerly for this "betrayal" as well.

***Camera Mainichi* 143, January 1966: 13. Translated by Sandy Lin.**

75 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Untitled*, from the series *Towards the City* – c. 1971 – Photograph


HEAVEN!



76 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Untitled*, from the series *Towards the City* – early 1970s – Photograph

77 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Beatles,* from the series *Tokyoites* – 1965 – Photograph

PROVOKE: PHOTOGRAPHY UP FOR DISCUSSION

Matthew S. Witkovsky

In the June 1972 issue of *Bijutsu techō* (*Art Notes*), Japan's most prestigious fine-arts monthly, the critic Kuronuma Kōichi offered a perspicacious assessment of the Provoke group—theorist-photographers Nakahira Takuma and Taki Kōji; photographer Takanashi Yutaka; poet and art critic Okada Takahiko; and photographer Moriyama Daidō—whose eponymous little magazine had ceased publication two years earlier. In the hands of Provoke, Kuronuma observed, photography was "an act of perception, performed through the combined bodies of man and machine"; it amounted to a "behavioral art," yielding images as "excreta" of what he dared to call, in quotation marks, a "performance."[1] Kuronuma defined this performative photography as agitational, in a political sense, and praised the photographers of Provoke for their ability "to keep building the relational structure of things in space ... and to *look as a camera*. [A photographer who can do this] is able to disclose the conditions of the world."[2] One might say that Kuronuma placed Provoke photography "between protest and performance," an assessment that the present book and the exhibition it accompanies have made explicit.

Yet the contributors to *Provoke* in no way resembled student protesters. Most of the photographs in their magazine, which came out in three issues between November 1968 and August 1969, and in their final book, published in March 1970, avoided picturing the upheavals of the time, a potential failing that Nakahira underscored with disarming flippancy in closing remarks for the first issue: "You may have expected something more political and stimulating from our grandiose title, PROVOKE, but this was how it turned out."[3] The "agitation" of Provoke, according to its now much-quoted manifesto, coupled images not to calls for direct political change but to doubts over language: "Today, at this very moment, language is losing its material basis—in other words, its reality—and floating in space. We as photographers . . . must actively put forth materials that address language and ideas," they concluded, by way of explaining the subtitle to their journal: *Shiso no tame no chōhatsuteki siryō* (*Provocative Materials for Thought*).

Photographs, according to this argument, would incite theoretical reflection on art and language in their relation to contemporary society; they would "raise consciousness" (in the English-language parlance of the day) about ruling structures of language and behavior. To do so would require making photographs come alive: to quote Kuronuma's assertion more fully, "photography also began to be considered as a 'performance' that emphasized the process."[4] His essay leaves unclear, however, exactly what process might be involved, and what form of performance. For it seems impossible to demand of a still image that it participate in reality, rather than fixing reality as testimony or remembrance. To activate this demand necessitates imagining photographs—and the words connected to them—in a perpetual state of becoming. It calls for contesting the durability of photographic images, and asserting instead their ephemerality, connected to the transient presence of the photographer. Beyond that, as we shall see, claiming photography as "protest" or "performance" means arguing for the constructedness of the human subject in a world caught between visceral matter and media artifice.

The key construct for these various assertions is that of photography as dialogue. While important photographs of the time picture performers—particularly from dance or theater—and in some cases may become performances themselves, as Walter Moser argues elsewhere in this volume with respect to *butoh* dancer Hijikata Tatsumi (see pp. 623–630), the connection "between protest and performance" enacted in Provoke was forged by making photographs, and the words surrounding them, into elements of discussion. It is not that images would speak—quite the contrary, they would push at conventional "words of wisdom" with the mute address of inarticulate matter. But these images would be made and circulated so as to infiltrate commonplace arguments, for example on the inevitability of progress or the coherence of the self. The words surrounding them would in turn push back against conventional imagery, raising doubts over originality, transcendence, and other assumptions linked to artistic creativity. That discursive intertwining of words and images was staged for the benefit of the Provoke

1 – Kuronuma Kōichi, "Shashinka e no agiteshon" [Agitation for Photographers], *Bijutsu techō*, no. 356 (June 1972): 107–12.
2 – Ibid.
3 – Nakahira Takuma, "Henshūgoki" [Editorial Postscript], *Provoke* 1 (November 1968): 69.
4 – Kuronuma, "Agitation for Photographers."

group, but in principle the discussion was for every contemporary citizen to engage with—one by one, and each in his or her own way. In other words, the discussion turned on a radical questioning of community.

Arguing for Provoke as a performance movement helps to align it more closely with the great postwar attraction to performance, which came to the fore in Japan from the 1950s to the 1970s in fine art, experimental dance and theater, and what was known as "intermedia."[5] Explanations of Provoke have too often centered on connections in creative photography alone.[6] This approach has tended to diminish the group's possible affinity with formations in avant-garde art, but also with the popular "backdrop" for those formations, namely the enormous civil unrest movements and, particularly, the many books and activities of so-called protest photography.[7] Uncoupled from avant-garde art or political protest, the phrase "provocative materials for thought" has too often been taken to equate maturity with self-reflexivity: Japanese photography came of age in *Provoke* because it was now "thinking" about photography itself, or about the mechanically generated image (*eizō*).[8] In a reductive version of that equation, *Provoke* has been presented in the photography marketplace as an innovation in style, praised for its liberatory insistence on images "as such" and its abstract look of *are-bure-boke* (rough, blurred, out of focus)—a superficial estimation that Nakahira had deplored, already at the time, as the devaluation of *Provoke* into "a kind of minor fashion."[9]

The demonstrations, sit-ins, and street riots that mark the citizen protest movements of the 1960s can be understood as the flip-side of performance: also live, bodily, and unpredictable, but with an earnest desire to join audience to actors and make all onlookers into sympathizers, if not participants.[10] "Protest books," as the dozens of small-scale photography publications brought out within this movement have come to be called, were deployed precisely to gain such sympathy, in furtherance of a bona fide constituent politics. "If we are able to urge those fellow students who have distanced themselves from the battle line to join our struggles," wrote the student editors of *Nihon University Protests* (1969, see p. 101), "then we have succeeded in conveying our love. If we can garner more support from the general public, then we will be able to have more trust in humanity."

What those disruptive waves of citizenry wanted, at least according to their organizers and commentators, was *discussion*, an exchange of views that might lead to a more responsive government and a more fully functioning democracy. Discussion arguably became the main form of live performance in that decade, a self-conscious enactment of the mechanisms of civil society that had been mandated by the American occupiers but left as an empty promise by them as well as the postwar Japanese state. Roundtables, screenings, retreats, and the like proliferated alongside student rallies and town-hall debates as so many manifestations of an incitement simply to talk.

Provoke "brought up for discussion" both the state and its dissenting subjects. The group's members (like the protesters) showed dissatisfaction with consumer capitalism, a society saturated by mass media, and the uncontrolled transformation of urban space, but it also subjected the group dynamics of protest movements—the formation of a community of discussants—to a radical critique, along the lines of the architectural collective Metabolism or the performance group Hi Red Center. Provoke responded to precedents set by photographer Tōmatsu Shōmei as regards the relation of photography to language, and the need to question the subjective position of anyone engaged in "reporting" on the times. In published projects that stretch over roughly a decade—far longer than the short life of *Provoke* magazine itself—members of the group acted to take apart subjectivity and to keep photography, and language, in a state of flux: words and images perpetually in formation, as a means to "provoke" a world dominated by information.

1960: Hamaya Hiroshi and the Emergence of the "Protest Book"

Duncan Forbes provides, elsewhere in this volume (see pp. 237–244), an overview of the Japanese "protest book," a photographic genre that, as he describes, came of age with the failure of Japanese citizenry to halt the renewal in January 1960 of the lopsided Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, commonly known

5 – Miryam Sas has made this connection in her pathbreaking book, *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return*, devoting her final chapter (pp. 180–201) to Provoke and to one post-Provoke book, *Tōno Monogatari* [*Tales of Tōno*] by Moriyama. Sas does not quite explain in what ways Provoke or its publications functioned as performance, although she importantly places the group alongside Hijikata Tatsumi's *butoh* dance and the Tenjō Sajiki troupe led by Terayama Shūji, among other performing arts formations.

6 – The recent exhibition *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968–1979*, curated by Nakamori Yasufumi (Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 2015) makes a strong case for Provoke as the "prologue" to conceptual and appropriation art in 1970s Japan. This is the third museum exhibition in the West to devote significant attention to Provoke and its members. It is preceded by *Century City* (Tate Modern, 2001), the catalog to which includes a key essay by Tomii Reiko, "Thought Provoked: Ten Views of Tokyo, Circa 1970," 198–220, esp. 204–9; and a collections show without a catalog, "The Provoke Era: Postwar Japanese Photography," that debuted at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in 2009 and traveled to various California museums in 2014–15.

7 – The essay by Tomii noted above is an exception as regards connections to the fine arts. Other exhibition catalogs with little or nothing on Provoke include Alexandra Munroe, ed., *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum and Abrams, 1994) and Doryun Chong, ed., *Tokyo 1955–1970: A New Avant-Garde* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012). Anne Wilkes Tucker et al., eds., *The History of Japanese Photography* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003) included *Provoke* while omitting fine-arts uses of photography, as well as protest photography and photobooks. Charles Merewether, ed., *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950–1970* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007) redressed the former omission but perpetuated the latter (protest); the reverse occurred in the exhibition *1968: Japanese Photography—Photographs That Stirred up Debate, 1966–1974* (Tokyo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014). Furthermore, none of these publications provides an analysis of *Provoke*, preferring juxtaposition to explanation.

8 – For excellent analyses along these lines, see Sas, *Experimental Arts*, and Fabienne Adler, "Toward a Thickness

Fig. 1 – Hamaya Hiroshi
Illustration from *Ikara to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*), 1960. Art Institute of Chicago.

by its Japanese shorthand term, Anpo. "There was ... no place for discussion," photographer Hamaya Hiroshi stated of Japanese politics in 1960. Storming the Parliament—a galvanic start to more than a decade of widespread civil disobedience—thus aimed to force Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke into a dialogue: "If the government refuses to disband the Diet, they should have opened the door and listened to the voice of the students."[11] The protests of 1960 may have given evidence of what Hamaya pointedly called a "vocal majority"; the photobooks that began to pour forth from that moment very much aimed to ignite discussion, and to define an activist community, hopefully increasing its size in the process.

Hamaya's *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*), photographed in May to July of 1960, is among the most forceful and cohesive of these new photobooks: image-driven and small-format, with a narrative that is meant to be paged through and passed around. The book's picture sections are punctuated by calendar dates, printed at a size far larger than expected for a book of this format, which, as Forbes points out, combine with the driving imagery to compress and accelerate time's passage—an early signal that in the 1960s Japan, an entire "era" could transpire in a couple of months. The first issue of *Provoke*, subtitled "Natsu 1968" (Summer 1968), inherited that quickened temporality, and linked it explicitly to the protests that had long since become a general setting: "Our era is becoming more political. It should climax in the 1970 protest against Anpo and Expo '70... . What will PROVOKE look like after 1970? When we find out that it's become something boring, then we'll quit publication without regret."[12] The last remark is youthful bravado, but it underscores the embrace of transience and hyper-stimulation that the protest book helped to inaugurate in Japanese photography.

The culminating image in Hamaya's book for the section on June 15, 1960—a day of massive clashes between students and police that occupies the extended core of the narrative—is a full-bleed nighttime spread of harshly illuminated debris lying on the pavement (fig. 1). A flattened demonstration sign, broken staves, and a lump of concrete combine to suggest the violence of that encounter, along with sodden, single shoes and caps forced off their wearers' heads. These last items evoke absent bodies as so much trampled trash. Yet the human "garbage" feels almost alive, animated through the blast of the camera flash and the inky black gravure printing. In their own raw pictures of the Tokyo streets, the members of Provoke would try to retain the material "feel" of such an image while losing its drama, its pathos. They would have an equally complex relation to the group discussions that Hamaya pictured in the next and final section of the book. Nearly half of these photographs show people talking: a huddle of politicians, their backs turned defensively outward; a more inviting clutch of students chanting in unison before stony-faced police; a speaker onstage with a microphone; students at a gymnasium rally. Would it be possible not to picture discussion, but actually to structure a photobook *as* a discussion, and moreover, a self-critical discussion involving words and images?

1962: *Incubation* and *Asphalt*

While protest books gathered force again only in 1965, precedents for Provoke in the domain of vanguard fine art proliferated in the first half of the 1960s. Among them are a pair of projects published side by side in *Bijutsu techō* in April 1962. A suite of photographs of Tokyo pavements by Tōmatsu Shōmei—including a glorious, double-gatefold color spread—featured among a portfolio of "contemporary images" that also included a utopian proposal by architect Isozaki Arata titled *Fuka katei* (*Incubation Process*) featuring a construction technology that Isozaki called (using English words) Joint Core System.[13] While the projects by Tōmatsu and Isozaki were unconnected except by editorially engineered proximity, the young men who made them would become fast friends, and their juxtaposition seems fortuitous.

Isozaki and Tōmatsu wanted to engage the forms of modernization directly, not just picturing the city but replicating its new industria' processes in a subversive way akin to sabotage. In October 1962, Isozaki entered a version of the work, now titled *Incubation Process / Joint Core System*, into a group exhibition, *Mirai no toshi* (*Future Cities*), involving former members of the Metabolist collective, an expansive but short-lived group that had also included Tōmatsu.[14] In the "incubator" was an aerial photograph of Shinjuku, a neighborhood that had

of Vision: Provoke on the Record," ch. 3, in "First Abandon the World of Seeming Certainty: Theory and Practice of the 'Camera-Generated Image' in Nineteen-Sixties Japan" (dissertation, Stanford, 2009), pp. 217–293.

9 – Takuma Nakahira, "Shashin wa gengo wo chōhatsu shieta ka" [Has Photography Been Able to Provoke Language?], *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (March 30, 1970); trans. Franz Prichard in Nakahira, *For a Language to Come* (Tokyo: Osiris, 2010). For summary characterizations of *Provoke* as a liberatory style, see Ivan Vartanian, "Introduction," in *Japanese Photobooks of the 1960s and 1970s*, eds. Vartanian and Kaneko Ryūichi (New York: Aperture, 2009), 17; and Martin Parr and Gerry Badger, *The Photobook: A History*, vol. 1 (London: Phaidon Press, 2004): 267–71.

10 – See William Marotti, "Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (February 2009): 97–135. Marotti unfortunately does not explicate his suggestive title, although he implies that "performance" and "theater" in the 1960s mean live actions instigated in part to garner the involvement of common citizens (*ippan shimin*).

11 – Hamaya Hiroshi, "Kokusai kyosan seiryoku" [International Communist Force], in *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* [*Record of Anger and Sadness*] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1960). Hamaya's text is translated in full on pp. 38–39.

12 – Nakahira, "Editorial Postscript," *Provoke* 1.

13 – See "Gendai no imeji" [Visions of the Present], *Bijutsu techō* (April 1962): 1–74. This feature section, selected by the influential art critic Takiguchi Shūzō, also included works by Okamoto Tarō, Ōtsuji Kiyoji, and others.

become a center for cheap or risqué live entertainment and countercultural experiment—and also a prime site for commercial development in booming 1960s Tokyo (see the introduction by Yukio Lippit in this volume, pp. 19–22). Isozaki's aerial photograph, taken from directly overhead, caused Shinjuku to appear flattened, an evocation of the pancaked landscape that many Japanese cities presented in 1945, razed by incendiary and then atomic bombs.[15]

Isozaki had the photograph glued to an ordinary tabletop, then placed in the exhibition space together with a supply of nails and colored electrical wire commonly used in new residential or commercial construction. Visitors were invited to participate in a ritual of pounding nails into the tabletop, then forming their own primitive circuits by looping the brightly colored wire around these nails, in effect suggesting alternative community formations. At the close of the show, two weeks later, Isozaki half-buried the collective sculpture by pouring wet plaster over it, as if to encase these "electric communities" in a flow of mud or sludge (fig. 2). In an exhibition statement, Isozaki declared that post-atomic cities amounted to giant laboratory experiments in crisis management: "Incubated cities are destined to self-destruct. Ruins are the style of our future cities. Future cities are themselves ruins. Our contemporary cities, for this reason, are destined to live only a fleeting moment. Give up their energy and return to inert material. All of our proposals and efforts will be buried, and once again the incubation mechanism is reconstituted. That will be the future."[16]

Tōmatsu seemed to enter Isozaki's pictured scene at a moment of cataclysmic leveling. Training his camera on Tokyo's newly paved streets, he suggested cosmic pictures but also brought forth the refuse and debris that ever-increasing car traffic had crushed underfoot. Tōmatsu's series *Asufaruto* (*Asphalt*) offers no literal or metaphorical distance. It is not a symbol of the city so much as a stubbornly chaotic piece of it excerpted for further contemplation. The series holds associative meanings—binding primeval abstraction, for example, to the industrial transformation of the cityscape—but it does not appear to make comforting sense of that association. The pavement in *Asphalt* is a real mess, and the detritus mashed into its softened surface could as well have been scattered by a bomb. This is matter in an unredeemed state, invitingly ambiguous in scale but also worryingly free in its form (plate 22).

Five years later, in 1967, Tōmatsu included some of his *Asphalt* photographs in *Nihon* (*Japan*), a grand statement on the country in this new and shattered "era." He invited a number of writers to take part in the book, among them the poet Okada, a future member of Provoke, who chose *Asphalt* for his subject.[17] Okada's opening sentences parallel the tension in *Asphalt* between looking up toward the cosmos and looking down at particulate minutiae: "When the stars start to come out, I walk around the city, making sure I don't miss a single detail of the landscapes that come into view. Then, of all the things I could say, I occasionally whisper to myself, 'Tokyo on my mind.' I cannot fully understand with what emotions Americans say, 'America on my mind,' but I think for those of us who live in Tokyo, our emotions are certainly more urgent than those of people living in New York. To say the least, our everyday lives in Tokyo—an amazing, yet ruined city that is abundant in matter—are in constant struggle against matter." Struggling with matter while resisting all impulses to organize or dominate it—this would be a signal issue for the members of Provoke.

1964: *Shelter Plan* and "I Am a King"

On January 26, 1964, three members of an artist collective known as Haireddo Sentā (Hi Red Center, or HRC), including Akasegawa Genpei, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, and Takamatsu Jirō, took up residence for one night in the Imperial Hotel, the Western-oriented, prewar Frank Lloyd Wright building that by the time of this happening had long become a symbol of faded grandeur (it would be torn down four years later). The group invited participants in the event, notably Nam June Paik, Yokoo Tadanori, and Yoko Ono, to be measured and photographed, ostensibly so that each one might be fitted for a personal atomic bomb shelter.[18] Men wearing suits took extensive measurements of each participant, in a ritual that suggested surveillance or interrogation as much as tailored customer service; life-size cyanotypes of unidentified naked male backsides, hanging on the wall as the operations proceeded, reinforced the sense that clients for this unusual architectural commission were akin to prisoners of war.[19] To compound this

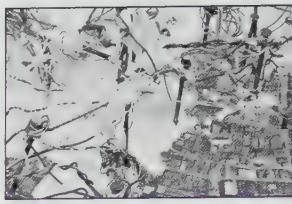


Fig. 2 – Isozaki Arata
Incubation Process/Joint Core System, 1962, recreated in 2011. Mixed media, 122 x 243 x 350 cm. Courtesy Misa Shin Gallery.

14 – See *Metabolism: The City of the Future* (Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011).
15 – Isozaki had purchased the photograph from a state agency, the Kokudo Chiri-in [Geospatial Information Authority].
16 – Isozaki Arata, "Fuka katei" [Incubation Process], statement for *Jointo Koa / Fuka-katei* [*Joint Core System / Incubation Process*], Seibu Department Store, 1962; published in *Bijutsu techō* (April 15, 1962): 45–50; in English in Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, trans. Kohso Sabu (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2006), 87–88.
17 – Okada Takahiko, "Asufaruto" [Asphalt], in Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Nihon* [Japan] (Tokyo: Shaken, 1967). Translated in this volume on pp. 130–131. Okada, who published his art criticism in *Bijutsu techō*, had begun writing on subjects in photography after meeting Nakahira; email communication from Sawada Yoko, September 15, 2015.
18 – Many thanks to Mitsuda Yuri for vetting details of this description of the event, which she has treated at greater length in Mitsuda et al., eds., *Haireddo Sentā: chokusetsu kōdō no kiroku ten* [*Hi Red Center: The Documents of "Direct Action"*], (Nagoya: Nagoya City Art Museum, 2013), 110–119.
19 – The cyanotype photographs were created by Nakanishi as part of a larger, unfinished project called *Catalogue of All Men*. See Mitsuda et al., *Haireddo Sentā*, 198.

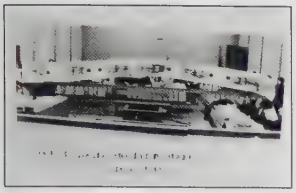


Fig. 3 – Members of Hi Red Center in court on August 10, 1966, holding up cyanotype scroll related to *Shelter Plan*.

serious critique through outrageous levity, HRC produced miniature boxes with photographs of individuals on every side as "sales models" for the one-person shelters.

The punch line to this macabre joke came when the police arrested Akasegawa shortly after the performance on charges of counterfeiting connected to his production of satirical thousand-yen notes. After nearly three years of charges and counter-charges, HRC members were brought to court multiple times beginning on August 10, 1966. On the first day of testimony a new cyanotype—measuring 10 meters long—was deployed by them in a kind of guerrilla performance before the judge (fig. 3).[20] Wielding the lengthy scroll like an unruly festival dragon, Akasegawa, Nakanishi, and their comrades proclaimed their innocence, brandishing this enormous photographic object as a proof of artistic independence. Here was one way to make photographs part of a live performance, explosively inserted, moreover, into a form of speech—courtroom testimony—that in this case challenged judicial and artistic uses of language at once.

Also in January 1964, Nakahira, a recently graduated university student with a thesis on Latin American independence movements, took a position on the editorial staff of *Gendai no me* (*Contemporary Eye*), a leftist monthly magazine. Nakahira had great aspirations as a cultural critic, a role he approached through essays on photography and film. He took up Tōmatsu's suggestion to have *Gendai no me* publish a series of photographic portfolios throughout the year on topics of Tōmatsu's choosing—a typical format for such periodicals. Tōmatsu, however, invited other photographers to join him, in a practice that was less common; the assignments, furthermore, took on something of a dialogic character. Tōmatsu was controlling yet open to others' ideas, and it was in this way that he brought on board Moriyama, for the October 1964 issue, and Takanashi one month later. The future membership of Provoke was already falling into place.

Tōmatsu titled the series "I Am a King" in July 1964, and he did so quite provocatively in the voice of Cassius Clay—the future Muhammad Ali —who for a Japanese readership could figure as both underclass (a black man, a boxer) and overlord (a symbol of American occupation). In this issue of *Gendai no me*, Tōmatsu captioned his picture of an upside-down king (playing card) with a concise assertion of underdog self-confidence, implicitly casting his own photographer/commentator role as that of a man simultaneously victorious yet vanquished: "[I]n the instant he won the championship (against Sonny Liston) [Clay] turned to the audience which had flown the hall and shouted as if he had gone mad: *I am a champ ... I am the greatest ... and ... I am a king.*"[21] It was also in 1964 that Tōmatsu photographed his good friend Nakahira as a street boxer, lunging with his fist and whole body at a speed bag in a nondescript concrete room, perhaps a game parlor (see cover to this book).

In another radical move, Tōmatsu submitted his photographs in this issue to group criticism, publishing images of the city distinctly reminiscent of the 1962 issue of *Bijutsu techō*—worm's-eye views of towering apartment buildings, seen by day, and aerial pictures of Tokyo taken by night (plate 18)—under the candid title, "I Am a King. Photographs by Tōmatsu, with comments by 5 men and 1 woman":

> *"In fact, it's something to be looked up to ... a castle."*
> *"Yeah, it's the king's residence ... from wood, mud and paper to iron, concrete and glass?"*
> *"That's Japanese??!"*
> *"It looks like a miniature. Cold. Scary."*
> *"The Byzantine empire. An access to ancient fables."*
> *"The sky becomes completely empty: it's all a wasted effort." ...*
> *"Coagulated time. In other words, a monument to material civilization."*
> *"Delicately cold, perfectly regular, so beautiful ..."*
> *"Unreachable by a simple gaze."*
> *"I find them disgusting, these photographs."*[22]

Tōmatsu built divisiveness into his project, using discussion as a means to "provoke" his own authorial privilege. To present contrasting viewpoints ("Cold. Scary." "Delicately cold,

20 – Ibid., 158–61 and email communications from Mitsuda Yuri, September 7 and 14, 2015.
21 – Tōmatsu Shōmei, "I Am a King," *Gendai no me* (July 1964): 7. Translated by Fabienne Adler and Saito Hiroko.
22 – Ibid.

perfectly regular, so beautiful ..."); to affirm "disgust" at his own work; and to *assume* or incorporate that expression of fury, rather than demonize it—these would become hallmarks of Provoke as well.

1965–66: *Treadle Airplanes* and the Student Photobook

As the protest movement spread and swelled into a generational counterculture, it gained in diversity and sophistication, with an increasing emphasis on camera-generated images as a mobile subject of group discussion. Jieiso/Ogawa Pro, a documentary collective that filmed university protests and, for many years, the struggles over Narita airport,[23] pioneered a shift in cinema from production to postproduction, as film historian Abé Mark Nornes has noted: "Ask an Ogawa Pro member about its 'film movement' and he or she will assume you are talking about the screenings, not the film." Discussions at screenings were what shaped future films, and they helped influence strategies of protest as well. Jieiso/Ogawa Pro soon came to count on the co-presence of mechanical images and living bodies engaged in conversation, as is clear from a pithy planning note found in the group's archives: "This film does not exist in places we do not."[24]

A similar strategy came to prominence in the Zen Nihon Gakusei Shashin Renmei (All-Japan Students' Photo Association, or AJSPA) an association involving tens of thousands of university students nationwide that fed into the photo-protest movement. Kaneko Ryūichi, who unofficially headed to head AJSPA in 1970–71, has written about the shift from top-down hierarchy to participatory critique that occurred in the ranks of AJSPA in the mid-1960s.[25] Days-long retreats involving local, regional, and national membership became the norm, with photographs pinned up or passed around for commentary. Projects on environmental pollution, domestic colonialism, and daily life in Hiroshima, among other documentary subjects, grew out of this dialogic process, as Kaneko also explains in an interview for this volume (see pp. 245–251).

This very widespread structure of discussion presumably habituated masses of photography and film enthusiasts to the relatively complex task of image analysis, and there is a likely correlation between this increase in discursive encounters and the palpable sophistication of sequencing and layout for the "canonical" protest books of 1968–69, put out by student groups at Nihon University, the University of Tokyo, and elsewhere. Already in 1965–66, photography critic Fukushima Tatsuo, an outside instructor for AJSPA in his late thirties, helped Meiji University Camera Club students prepare three publications that engaged in their own questioning of the very form and purpose of the protest book. "The years from 1960 until now have been a period of confusion," Fukushima began his essay for *Jōkyō 1965* (*Conditions 1965*), the first of these books. "During the past several years, our thoughts [and sense of self] have been shattered into parts by various congested factors of reality, and because of this tremendous transformation, thoughts and expressions have remained adrift, and it has become extremely difficult to grasp reality in its totality." Rather than counter or escape such splitting of the self, Fukushima and his comrades embraced it as a means to self-discovery. *Conditions 1965* was a collective attempt to "achieve the seemingly contradictory processes of a thorough individuation and systematization of the self. [This was the result of] asking each and every photographer, 'What are the conditions of today?'"[26]

In 1966, Fukushima helped design and edit *Ashibumi hikōki* (*Treadle Airplanes*), the most ambitious of these student books. Airplanes, from the time of the B-29 bomber Enola Gay to the B-52s that had taken off regularly from Kadena Air Force base in Okinawa at least since 1962, were a major symbol of the nefarious alliance between mechanization, militarization, and Westernization in Japan. To operate such equipment with a treadle, or foot-powered pedal, conjures an image of humorous, subversive intervention, even a "dysfunctioning" of the system.

Treadle Airplanes opens, as would the first issue of *Provoke*, with images of workers and protesting students, some sporting the hard hat that, apparently, Isozaki had helped identify as ideal protest headwear. One- to two-page text sections that serve as dividers among the image sequences sound a call to arms: titles such as "Organization," "Guide for New Comrades," and most interestingly, "How to Make this Book," suggest it as a user's manual to photo-fueled revolt. The book's structure soon gains in complexity, however, undoing the assumption that

23 – New Tokyo International Airport, better known as Narita, was planned from 1965 to be built near Narita City; an initial proposal to use the village of Tomisato was scuttled when local farmers quickly organized to refuse expropriation of their lands, and in June 1966 a secret decision was taken to relocate nearby to another village, Sanrizuka. That decision was quickly leaked to the press, and a farmers' opposition movement formed, commonly called Hantai Dōmei for short. When surveyors came in 1967 to begin work, Hantai Dōmei was joined by Zengakuren, the student opposition movement, and the combined resistance force created a civil insurrection that lasted more than a decade. Fighting reached peak intensity leading up to the 1970 renewal of Anpo, because the airport was widely assumed to help serve the US military cause in Vietnam and the Cold War. Although the first terminal at Narita was completed in 1972, the airport officially opened only on May 20, 1978. See Abé Mark Nornes, *Forest of Pressure: Ogawa Shinsuke and Postwar Japanese Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 58–60, and "Narita International Airport," *Wikipedia*, accessed September 2015, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narita_International_Airport. See also plates 38–43, selected from a set of 474 photographs of the Narita protests taken by one or more unknown photographers, possibly around the fall of 1969, and held at the Art Institute of Chicago, 2011.40.1-474.

24 – Nornes, *Forest of Pressure*, 44–45.

25 – Kaneko Ryūichi, "Photography as Deed. The Founding and First Transformation of the All Japan Students' Photo Association," in *1968—Japanese Photography: Photographs that Stirred Up Debate, 1966–1974* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013), XLV. In 1959, Kaneko reports, AJSPA had nearly forty thousand registered members, a number that would grow significantly in the 1960s (XLIII).

26 – Fukushima Tatsuo, "1965~66 no jōkyō: shashin de nani ga dekiruka" [The Conditions of 1965–66: What Can Be Achieved through Photography], in *Jōkyō 1965* (Tokyo: All-Japan Students' Photo Association, 1966), 180–181, 186.

Fig. 4 – "Meiji University Camera Club, Tokyo"
Page spread from *Ashibumi hikōki* (*Treadle Airplanes*), 1966. Private collection, Tokyo.

direct speech alone is suitable for a protest. Immediately from the second set of pictures and throughout the remainder of the book there appear unsettling abstractions, puzzling or moody juxtapositions of common objects, and allusive close-ups that throw at readers unidentified subject matter—the "stuff" of life—or turn it ghostly (fig. 4).

Certain images closely anticipate those in *Provoke*, in their flirtation with illegibility and in their concentration on signs of postwar modernity, such as cars, power lines, and stretches of urban wasteland—but the connection goes beyond individual examples. The mix of genres in this book, its abrupt switches in subject or compositional approach, and its balancing of collective creation with projections of a perhaps solipsistic mood, are all fundamentally of a piece with *Provoke*. So is the book's statement of purpose, which starts resoundingly: "To look critically at our photographs in order to investigate the overall problems of our club, we must not rank them [but rather] decide how we relate to photography and settle our consciousness on each and every photograph...Photography is a way of expressing one's philosophy, and philosophy cannot be ranked."[27]

1966: *Tokyoites*

Takanashi Yutaka, the first participant in Provoke who identified primarily as a photographer, introduced his extensive series *Tokyo-jin* (*Tokyoites*) in January 1966, with a portfolio in *Camera Mainichi*, the main national outlet for creative photography; he wrote an introductory statement as well (translated in full on pp. 460–461). Takanashi had begun the project soon after working with Tōmatsu on "I Am a King," and had pursued it intensively throughout the following year, at a time when changing Tokyo had become a voguish theme for the photo-illustrated press.[28] The sight of commuters returning home for year-end holidays could, Takanashi argued, be taken as a Tokyo "motif," even an "emblem" of the city in flux. This would be the standard approach, leading to a contained and picturesque view, which Takanashi equated to the Renaissance city, and to Renaissance one-point perspective. He cast that approach aside to embrace the city as "[a space] filled with multiple realities and perspectives called 'interchanges' with matter." One is reminded of *Asphalt*, and the words that Okada would attach to that series the following year. Unsublimated "matter," which Takanashi elsewhere calls "garbage," prompts—one could say provokes—the breakdown of authorial ego into dialogic selves: an "'image hunter,' who aimed to shoot only the invisible"; and a "'gatherer of scraps,' who could trust only what was visible."

This inner split could be reduced to a dichotomy between expression (*hyogen*) and document (*kiroku*), a binary that is common enough in photographic discourse (and not only in Japan). To do so would be to miss, however, Takanashi's self-characterization as a scavenger, alternately aggressive and impoverished, mumbling to himself as he searches for photographic "scraps." "[I]n a topological [rather than a representational] domain where bits of matter intersect with each other," he asserted in *Camera Mainichi*, "a one-way viewpoint becomes invalid. The only clue to understanding this organism called civilization will be found in the scars created by being torn between vacillating perspectives and a single, personal viewpoint." He concluded by deeming the presentation "provisional," and declared, "I am excited above all for its imminent 'betrayal.' How will I be betrayed and what viewpoints will I be able to recover?" It was an open invitation to argument.

1967–68: *Foto Critica*

In December 1967 there appeared another short-lived publication of great significance: *Foto Critica*, the brainchild of a photography student named Yanagimoto Naomi. Yanagimoto, who would later assist Nakahira and Taki in editing *Provoke*,[29] was enrolled in the Art Department at Nihon University, already a main locus of student unrest; Kitai Kazuo, well known from his magazine work and the self-published book *Teikō* (*Resistance*, 1965; see plate 5), spent four months embedded with Yanagimoto's department in 1968–69 as he covered the Nihon student movement for *Asahi Journal*. The two issues of *Foto Critica* had appeared by then (the second one was published in June 1968); they pulled together writing by or about each of the participants in Provoke, and tied their thinking to larger historical and theoretical issues of enormous relevance.

27 – Ibid., 17.
28 – In January 1965 Tōmatsu led a threesome that included Ishimoto Yasuhiro and Nagano Shigeichi in a transformative series about Tokyo "hotspots" that treated the city as a contested landscape rather than a scenic motif. These portfolios displaced color photography from the front of the magazine for the first time; they also contained no pictures of babies or other sentimental subjects. See "Shinjuku" [Shinjuku Town], *Camera Mainichi* (January 1965): 15–34; "Haneda kūkō yume no shima" [Haneda Airport—Dream Island] (April 1965): 71–90; and "Chiyoda-ku" [Chiyoda] (July 1965): 15–34. In a bold move, the second portfolio (on Haneda) included excerpts from city planning statements, appropriating the dry factuality of government language and placing it alongside images that convey threat, doubt, and protest (one picture shows demonstrators lined up at the Haneda airport perimeter fence).
29 – Yanagimoto recalled his involvement in *Provoke* magazine in an interview, "90% ga seiji no hanashi datta henshukaigi" [90% Discussion at Editorial Meetings was on Politics], *Déjà-vu*, no. 14 (October 1993): 69–71.

The fact that *Foto Critica* was a student publication suggests the uniquely well-developed level of critical discourse in Japan in the later 1960s, and the unusual openness that prevailed there between university students, practitioners, and theorists.

Kitai has recently explained *Resistance*, and by extension his work of the 1960s and early' 70s, as "a protest against both the established social order and traditional photography."[30] *Foto Critica* could be said to have done the same for photography criticism. It was the first journal in Japan, and one of the first in the world, to publish seriously considered articles on past or established photographers: Eugène Atget, László Moholy-Nagy, Robert Capa, Richard Avedon, and William Klein. Its contributors polemicized with other historical writing, particularly *Shashin geijutsuron* (*A Theory of Photographic Art*) by Shigemori Kōen, and celebrated the theoretical insights of Walter Benjamin, whose landmark 1935 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" had been translated into Japanese in 1965.[31] Their responses show a quality of writing that is uniquely attentive to photographic images, and variously lively, moving, and irreverent as well.

Taki and Nakahira's essays in *Foto Critica* point toward their editorial approach to *Provoke*. In "Akuchuariti ni tsuite no oboegaki" (Some Notes on Actuality), published in the second issue, Taki emphasized (as Fukushima had) the necessity for photographers "to consider the conditions they face," among them the domination of capitalism and the mass media, and as a subsidiary matter, the absolute power held in this broader system by magazine and newspaper editors. Habituation to televisual and photographic imagery has transformed a seemingly concrete world "into an amorphous constellation of imagery"; this universal fabrication of reality "also means that the world's reality can only reside in an image." That image-reality, at its best, will be tied implacably to its date of manufacture, yet will have an ability to predict the future; this is what Taki later hoped to achieve with *Provoke*, as he expressed most fully when he structured the group's final publication as a book whose chapters were alternately titled "Provoke" and "Predict." Intimations of that logic are present already in "Some Notes on Actuality":

> *Why do certain works, such as the anonymous photographs of the Paris Commune and Yamahata Yosuke's [pictures taken the day after the bomb fell on] Nagasaki, retain eternal relevance while simultaneously remaining bound by their date [fig. 5]? ... [I]t is because they speak to the profoundness of a structured actuality that rises to the surface of the world, for a moment, through vision. ... This "actuality" is manifested when the "directness" of photography positions the subject in a point of transition between reality and illusion. I call this consciousness "foresight." In other words, the worth of all photographs depends on what foresight they can provide, for to exist is always to transcend oneself.... Photographers must not simply affirm or deny reality, but exercise foresight toward the principles of newly structured spaces... . Actuality is not merely the documentation of existing facts; rather, it is a sense of history that can be structured by foresight. If there is one possible task for the photographer in contemporary society, it is to make apparent this vision and the existence of the self as actuality.*[32]

Nakahira showed in his reading of Klein (translated in full on pp. 362–367) a similar philosophical preference for structure over style, although where Taki praised foresight, Nakahira preferred immediacy. Against the possible expectation that what younger Japanese photographers admired in Klein was the grainy, up-close, heated yet acerbic "look" of his photographs—a simple precursor to *are-bure-boke* in Japan—Nakahira argued that it was not really the look but the method that mattered. Graininess and wide-angle lenses, he contended, did not automatically signify urban anomie; there was no one-to-one correspondence in photographs between appearance and meaning, no key to decoding, indeed no code. What mattered was that Klein had brought forth a particular *process* of taking photographs in the contemporary city. Viewing it as a dreamscape, even a nightmare, Klein had placed himself in the middle of that mental geography, exposing himself to multiple and colliding vantage points with no set idea of his expressive voice. In short, he let his creative identity drift while keeping his critical faculties intact. Nakahira took that approach for a model, and he put into practice his reading of Klein as an authorial cipher

Fig. 5 – Yamahata Yosuke
Page spread from *Kiroku-shashin*, photograph taken in the aftermath of the atomic bomb blast at Nagasaki, August 10, 1945. *Kiroku-shashin. Genbaku no Nagasaki* (*Photograph-Document. The Nagasaki A-Bomb*), 1952. Private collection.

30 – Kitai Kazuo, "The Time of Resistance, Zengakuren, *Barricade* and Sanrizuka: What My Camera and I Were Thinking Between 1964 and 1972," trans. Masaki Hiroshi, in Kitai, Barricade (East Hampton, NY: Harper's Books, 2012), np. 31 – Shigemori Kōen, *Shashin geijutsuron* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 1967). Walter Benjamin's essay gave the title to an anthology of his writings published in 1965, *Fukusei gijutsu jidai no geijutsu*, trans. Kawamura Jirō (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten). A fifteen-volume anthology of Benjamin's collected writings, *Varutā Ben'yamin chosakushū*, began appearing with the publishing house Shōbunsha in 1969; the "Work of Art" essay came out in volume 2 (August 1970). Other books (besides Shigemori's) on the reading list for *Foto Critica* contributors included Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America* [*Imēji no jidai: masukomi ga seizo suru jujitsu*] (Tokyo: Sōgen Shinsha, 1964) and *Amerika seiji no tokushitsu* (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1964); Helmut Gernsheim, *History of Photography* [*Sekai no shashinshi*], trans. Itō Ippei (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1967); and Roland Barthes, *Degré zéro de l'écriture* [*Ekurichūru no zerodo*], trans. Morimoto Kazuo (1965) and, especially important, *Mythologies* [*Shinwa sayō*] trans. Shinosawa Hideo (1967), both Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha.
32 – Taki Kōji, "Akuchuariti ni tsuite no oboegaki," *Foto Critica*, no. 2 (June 1968): 10–20, citations 18–20.

passing, lucidly yet violently, through an unfixed landscape: "The world [for Klein] is not a static, completed universe but rather something which flows and changes its appearance, transforming like a nebula with a movement in viewpoint."[33]

1968–70: Provoke

Nakahira and Taki seem to have weighed plans for a journal repeatedly in the first half of 1968, and perhaps earlier; Kitai has recalled that Nakahira mentioned *Provoke* to him already in 1967, perhaps around the time of the first issue of *Foto Critica*.[34] According to various recollections, Taki provided major funding, while Nakahira closely supervised the printing, vigilant, as both Moriyama and Takanashi have attested, in maintaining an exacting standard of quality (see interviews in this volume, pp. 481–486 and 487–493). That the results could superficially appear poor, or "lazy," as Tōmatsu (perhaps from rivalrous sentiment) subsequently termed it, was part of what Taki had called in *Foto Critica* the necessary "guerrilla tactics" to take "against a monopoly [system]."[35] Taki, a trained art editor (and the oldest member of the group) created the magazine's cover design and typography, and seems to have held primary responsibility for its layout—although one can imagine that image placement and sequence may have been debated by all involved.[36] From around 1967, meanwhile, Nakahira had developed simultaneously an important body of photographs and a prolific essayistic output. *Dezain* (*Design*), a monthly journal, had become a main vehicle for both kinds of work, while Nakahira contributed mostly essays alone to various organs of the Asahi publishing empire, whose newspapers and magazines were generally sympathetic to the youth counterculture. Interestingly, Nakahira did not make *Provoke* into a major outlet for his writing, participating only in a few, mainly jointly authored texts.[37]

The layout of the magazine seems expressly designed to test the workings of group solidarity. In the first and second issues, a common theme—"Summer 1968" and "Eros," respectively—was treated serially by individual members, an approach that continued (without a theme) in the third issue, as well as in the chapters of the group's final publication in 1970. The order of appearance changed at each time, as in a repertory ensemble, in which each player takes a star turn but the troupe has no principals; this suggests a dislike of hierarchy reminiscent of Fukushima's statements in *Treadle Airplanes*, or the ostensibly democratic organization of the protest factions. But in great contrast to the collectivism of protest books, whose contents were only credited to an overall editorial team, photographs in *Provoke* appeared separated by name. In place of a chorus singing in unison—as an example, the finale to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony that was excerpted in Ogawa Pro's great protest film *Sanrizuka no natsu* (*Summer in Sanrizuka*, 1968)—*Provoke* presented soloists making variations on a theme or, at their closest, dissonant harmonies.

The dilemma of coming together while staying apart takes center stage in the second issue, "Eros," which an opening statement defines as a "distrust of love" that nevertheless draws humans together: "If we heighten this distrust to its limit, and find that even then, a bond akin to humid nights remains, then [eros] must be something more primordial than our consciousness."[38] Eros as a topic thus intensified to the point of clarity the tensions involved in all community formation: on the one hand, distrust, and on the other, a primordial impulse to bond. One declarative sentence is set on a line apart: "There are various approaches."

The first approach belongs to Nakahira, who dispenses with literal eroticism to concentrate on what the introduction calls "humid nights." These are shown in a suite of double-page, full-bleed spreads (pp. 280–285): a rain-spattered telephone booth shot through with the beam of car headlights, cut flowers curving menacingly up from the bottom of the page or, again, speckled by rain, all in the dark of night; blobs of form weakly illuminated in the Walpurgis Night glow of fluorescent rings or unidentifiable light sources; the cinched and rumpled canvas of a parked cargo truck, seemingly afloat between a wash of nightlit streets and the void of a black and starless sky; or by contrast, a white starburst that spills forth terrifyingly from a building site, in what might be a figure for orgasmic overflow or for what Nakahira described as Klein's roving nebula. Seeing is dry and pedestrian, erotics is wet and blinding. Nakahira closes his section with a view of the dawning ocean under an equally liquid sky, both appearing to seep onto the roadbed of a highway headed to nowhere.

33 – See also the essay "Optical Remnants: Paris, 1971, Takuma Nakahira" by Yasumi Akihito in *Circulation: Date, Place, Events* (Osiris, 2012), 310–17.

34 – Kitai, "Time of Resistance." Kitai recalls that Nakahira began meeting with him monthly in 1967–68 to discuss photography, and at one point invited Kitai to join Provoke.

35 – "Rongu intabyū: Tōmatsu Shōmei no kiseki" [Long Interview: Tōmatsu Shōmei's Path], in *Shashin nenkan 2008*, quoted in Kohara Masashi, "The Cycle of Provocation—Provoke's Path," in Kaneko, *1968*, XXIII; Taki, "Some Notes on Actuality," 11.

36 – Sawada Yoko, e-mail communications with the author, September 9–15, 2015. It would be vitally important to better understand how layout and sequencing were decided for the three issues of *Provoke*.

37 – Nakahira's signature appears with others' under the collective manifesto that opens the first issue of *Provoke* (translated on p. 277); a discussion with Moriyama in *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* [*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty*], the group's final publication; and the closing essay and postscript to that book, written (as the opening manifesto had been) with Taki Kōji. By the time of *First, Abandon*, Nakahira may have wished to save his writing for his own monograph, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* [*For a Language to Come*], which appeared eight months later, in November 1970, and contains many republished essays by him.

38 – "Eros," *Provoke* 2 (March 1969): 10. The statement, exceptionally, is unsigned.

Moriyama's contribution, which follows directly, shows a very different but no less radical approach to the theme of eros (pp. 286–291). His pictures, each kept to a single page and set off against a wide margin of white paper, wordlessly narrate the photographer's sexual encounter with an unnamed woman in a hotel room. Nakahira's ultramodern cultivation of random juxtapositions is succeeded by a classical unity of time, place, and action. Moriyama trades his colleague's counterpoint of pitch-dark night and blinding lights—of blackness and blankness—for a fuzz of gray tones that, coupled to this carnal subject, is just as disquieting. A muted picture of the woman from the waist up, lying as if armless on the bed, with two dark splotches for nipples and a head so black that it appears as a blot, puts one in mind of the inky watercolor nudes of Marlene Dumas, with their visceral mix of fascination and horror. In several others, a more uniformly foggy printing reduces the woman to a blur reminiscent of Gerhard Richter as she moves around the bed, crouching or prostrate in expectation of sex from behind, or lounging, doll-like, against the far wall. In one picture we see Moriyama's lower body, his camera pointed downward but with enough tilt to keep in the frame a glowing television set at the other end of the darkened room. There is also just one picture that appears to show the two in the act of sex. Looking up through Moriyama's camera we see the woman on top of him, her head once again indistinct as her hair masses against the ugly halo of a ceiling light.

Sad in so many ways, the encounter is also remarkably candid in its framing of photography as performance. To make sex into a show is among the oldest of human behaviors, and it has always begged the question of what in social relations is genuine or consensual, as opposed to staged. Moriyama's photography of his own sex act pushed at the boundaries dividing reality from artifice in an image-saturated world. It also seemed to him a radical way to call authorship into question. This came out in a discussion with Nakahira that appeared in Nakahira's favorite outlet, *Dezain*, in April 1969, one month after the second issue of *Provoke*, under the screaming headline "Shashin to iwu kotoba wo nakuse!" (Get Rid of the Word Photography!) The dialogue (translated in full on pp. 392–397) reappeared in the final Provoke publication, *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* (*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty*), the title to which could be seen simply to restate that of Moriyama's and Nakahira's conversation. Evidently inspired by the encounter, Moriyama cast the entirety of his epic 1972 photobook, *Shashin yo sayōnara* (*Farewell Photography*), in this vein as well, for its full title reads: *Shashin yo sayonara: hachigatsu futsuka yamanoue hoteru taidan nakahira takuma moriyama daidō* (*Farewell Photography: August 2 the Hilltop Hotel A Conversation between Nakahira Takuma and Moriyama Daidō*). There could be no more emphatic articulation of the intent to make photographs and language perform as elements of discussion.

Nakahira begins the initial dialogue in *Dezain* by starting, "I actually want to play the role of interviewer," making clear at the outset that the two men are self-consciously onstage. The discussion turns, essentially, on the status of the photographer in relation to his own pictures. Nakahira expresses "shock" at Moriyama's legal and aesthetic boldness in claiming rephotographed press images as his own work, with certain installments of a monthly portfolio called *Akushidento* (*Accident*, plates 64–70).[39] Moriyama responds with an attack on photography as an art of aesthetic privilege, while also expressing a wish to stretch the term "document" to creative purposes. These important points, not as familiar in the 1960s as they would later become, nevertheless lead the discussants past the most original features of their own work, which have to do with a keen desire for photographs to emanate their makers' fragile yet intense subjectivity. As Kuronuma perceptively began his essay on Provoke, quoting Nakahira: "The value of one photograph entirely depends on how that photographer has lived."[40]

When the discussion moves to specifics, however, Moriyama's investment in irreducible experience becomes clearer. He recounts his own "shock," a traumatic awakening, upon learning in a very particular manner that United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy had been shot:

> *[T]he news reached Japan around the evening of June 4 last year. I happened to learn it at a train terminal in Tokyo. Copies of the paper's special edition, with photographs reporting the assassination, were scattered everywhere—inside the trains, on*

39 – Moriyama Daidō, *Akushidento* [*Accident*] appeared in *Asahi Camera* from January until December 1969. The exhibition that this book accompanies includes eighty pictures from *Accident*, shown in alternating sets of forty prints each at the four venues; it also includes, in Chicago, a presentation of all twelve issues of the magazine.

40 – Kuronuma, "Agitation for Photographers," 107.

the asphalt roads, and on the back of a parked truck. At that moment, I'm not sure how to describe it, but I was deeply shocked. I wasn't actually shocked at seeing Kennedy's corpse lying flat on its back, but rather at learning of his assassination in this manner. There were just countless copies of the newspaper scattered everywhere... . I stood still in a scene like that. I could say, "At that moment I felt the decay of an era," but that's all I could do with words.

Words fail: there is no way to talk back to a time in which the oppressive proliferation of sensitive images causes living history to dissipate into emptiness. As with all traumatic incidents, Moriyama could only process it belatedly, saying that "the experience settled into me" and gave him insight into "a fundamental way for photography to exist." This would be as copies of copies, elements of a world in which "television, cinema screens, photographs taken by others, or my photographs" co-exist as a totalized reality. Again, the point is well made yet also, by now, well worn, and fails to address the degree to which Moriyama wished to jolt that reality—that *pseudo-certainty*—into life. Nakahira pushes the point, asking Moriyama what would happen if he became the object of someone else's gaze:

Nakahira: I don't think you've done it yet, but I've heard that you had plans ...to publish juxtapositions of photographs of yourself and photographs taken by you. [...] If it's okay, could you elaborate specifically on what kind of photograph you are talking about?

Moriyama: Well, I was with a woman ... in a hotel room ... having sexual intercourse with her, to be frank. And I was constantly taking photographs of that process. As I photographed more, it started to bother me that I was photographing only what I could see—which was partial, I could not capture the whole. Needless to say, the only ones present were myself and the woman. There was no other way of capturing what was happening than for her to photograph along with me. I did end up asking her to do that. I was going to publish these photographs as my own but didn't in the end, simply due to lack of space. But from now on, you can expect to see me in my own photographs more often.

It is a disingenuous admission—surely Moriyama could have included the woman's pictures of himself in *Provoke*, had he deemed it sufficiently important. But the slip is revealing, for Moriyama has *talked* about a true exchange of views that, in practice, he could not allow. There are limits to dialogue: ego, gender, and the desire for control get in the way. Yet it helps to talk back, to others and to oneself. Sometimes a photograph takes place when words fail; at others, words must frame that which may not be pictured. The discussion matters.

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MORIYAMA DAIDŌ
Interviewed by Diane Dufour and Walter Moser

Diane Dufour and Walter Moser: What triggered your interest in the work of Tōmatsu Shōmei?

Moriyama Daidō: I was particularly drawn to this one picture that seemed at first glance to be a banal picture of ruins. That inspired me to look at other pictures. Tōmatsu also hung out with me, and we would talk. He would take me drinking.

DD and WM: You got to know Tōmatsu through Hosoe Eikō?

MD: Yes.

DD and WM: And Nakahira through Tōmatsu?

MD: I was introduced to Nakahira through Tōmatsu. I joined *Provoke* from the second issue, but I think my approach to *Provoke* was different from Nakahira's anyway.

DD and WM: Do you remember Hosoe's shoot for *Barakei* (*Ordeal by Roses*, 1961)?

MD: Yes, yes, I remember the shoot very well. I assisted for the entire shoot. The whole plan for *Barakei* came about because Mishima [Yukio, the writer,] had asked Hosoe to shoot for his book of critical essays *The Attack of Beauty*. They immediately hit it off, talking about photography and photobooks. What was interesting in watching the process was that Mishima quite happily did whatever Mr. Hosoe asked of him. If Mr. Hosoe asked Mishima to lie down, he would do so.

DD and WM: Why was Tōmatsu so much more influential on your work than Hosoe?

MD: Well, I prefer the streets. I prefer doing snapshots. Mr. Hosoe says, "my work is more dramatic." I was more drawn to the photos of the American military bases. They were part of the landscape that I saw growing up.

DD and WM: When you met Tōmatsu he was doing subject-oriented photography on Nagasaki or Okinawa. Your work seems more concerned with pure language than a given subject.

MD: Tōmatsu would decide on a theme, and work from there. I don't have a designated theme when shooting. Tōmatsu had political and societal themes in his work.

DD and WM: You and Mr. Tōmatsu worked together for a magazine.

MD: Well, Nakahira was editing [the monthly magazine] *Gendai no me* (*Contemporary Eye*), in which he had Tōmatsu do a serialized feature. Tōmatsu selected various young photographers. I was one of them.

DD and WM: The first appearance of your work in *Gendai no me* was *Mugongeki* (*Pantomime*).

MD: That really didn't have anything to do with Tōmatsu, though. Nakahira was the editor. It was work that I did with him.

DD and WM: What was the production process like for *I Am a King*, which was serialized in *Gendai no me* throughout the year 1964? Tōmatsu was in charge of organizing that series, to which several photographers contributed. Did he assign you a theme or topic?

MD: Yes.

DD and WM: We have also seen a collaboration between the playwright Terayama Shūji and yourself in the magazine *Haiku*, in 1966.

MD: Yes, it was published by Kadokawa Shoten.

DD and WM: Terayama wrote about your photos, and you were asked to collaborate with him. But you never collaborated with Terayama on his films, correct?

MD: Terayama found my work very interesting and called upon me to collaborate with him. That was how my working relationship with him began. And I began taking pictures of the working-class popular theater, and that became the beginnings of *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (*Japan: A Photo Theater*, 1967). Then I went on to do a series for *Asahi Graph* with Nakahira, who had just started photography then. That was also work that Terayama brought to us.

DD and WM: You also worked together with Suda Issei, right?

MD: Suda was more a photographer for Terayama's Tenjō Sajiki theater troupe. I wasn't. I knew Suda from elsewhere as well.

DD and WM: *Chizu* (*The Map*, 1965) by Vivo member Kawada Kikuji, is recognized as a very important book today. Were you aware of it when it came out?

MD: I didn't see it when it was published. I only saw it afterwards. Frankly speaking, I didn't think it was all that interesting. The reason is, I saw a bit of Tōmatsu in there. And Tōmatsu's work is more interesting anyway.

DD and WM: Do you remember when you saw it for the first time?

MD: I think it was in Hosoe's studio. Of course I look at the work differently now, but I was young back then, I couldn't read into the work as deeply as I should have.

DD and WM: I understand that Nakahira took you to a protest, and you said "what am I doing here?" And then you left and said "never again!"

MD: I walked 10 meters and scrammed. When we were doing *Provoke*, after midnight Taki Kōji and Nakahira would gather people, and they would all talk politics. I wasn't interested in the discussion at all, so I would be in the darkroom or in a bar in Shinjuku, drinking.

DD and WM: So this was not a problem in Provoke? It was ok for some people to be interested in politics and some not?

MD: Fundamentally, there was trust. But everyone would talk about everyone behind their backs, so it was one emotional scar after another. But that was how passionate they were.

DD and WM: You joined for the second issue of *Provoke*. The manifesto was in the first issue. What did you think about the statement?

MD: I don't know precisely about that because I only joined from the second issue, but before *Provoke*, Tōmatsu called upon Taki and Nakahira and others to make the *100 Years of Photography* exhibition.

DD and WM: You believe that project generated the base idea for *Provoke*. We have read that Nakahira, who was once very fond of Tōmatsu, lost interest in him after a time. Do you know if this was the case, or why?

MD: I think Nakahira had respect for Tōmatsu while he was an editor. And Taki was old friends with Tōmatsu. But, while they were working on the *100 Years* exhibition, I think Nakahira began to feel a certain uneasiness with him. I don't know the reason for that. But I presume that during preparations for the exhibition, Nakahira started to have doubts about Tōmatsu. I think there were certain things that he could not agree to. Of course, I'm just presuming. And I think Nakahira's encounter with Taki and their mutual sentiments ultimately led to the Provoke movement.

DD and WM: So it wasn't a dispute over theory or visual style?

MD: Nakahira told me that it was "Tōmatsu imperialism."

DD and WM: He had to kill the father!

MD: I can't say, because I wasn't there.

DD and WM: Your early works seem to be heavily influenced by Tōmatsu.

MD: You can say that they were, and that they weren't. You can see influences of Tōmatsu in the early camera work. But through the process of the Yokosuka work, which took six months, I realized that Tōmatsu and I are different.

DD and WM: There are competing explanations about the process of making *Provoke*, about who was making decisions. The photographers were each working on their own project, but who decided as to the sequences and so forth?

MD: We would hold monthly meetings. And we would all talk about it. We'd say, "OK, the next issue is going to be about Eros" and so forth.

DD and WM: And then you went to shoot freely?

MD: I'm not sure about the beginning stages because I was not there. I don't know what the theme was.

DD and WM: And who decided on the sequence?

MD: We would each decide our own sequences. But the final decisions were made by Taki. Because he was the designer as well.

DD and WM: Did the third issue involve the same process?

MD: I don't remember. I just remember talking a lot, and then it was done. I can't remember if there was a theme for issue three. I think we all went about it independently. I don't remember clearly.

DD and WM: Why do you think Provoke stopped?

MD: I was the only one to say we shouldn't stop, but now I suppose that any endeavor which is a form of activism doesn't last long. So when 1969 was over, the momentum was no longer there. The political sentiments changed. The scene changed drastically.

DD and WM: Did Provoke disband because it had gone so far in deconstructing pictorial language? Because what do you do after deconstruction? You have to go build something else. Takanashi went to do *Machi* (*Town*), Nakahira went off to do color work. They went in completely different directions.

> **MD:** I presume that it was Nakahira and Takanashi who said, "we should stop doing this." But I don't know why. It could have been the change in the political scene, or it could have been strife within the group. At the last meeting, I said, "we haven't provoked anything yet."

DD and WM: Meaning, this is only the beginning. And they said?

> **MD:** The three of them had already decided to end it. I thought it was premature to say that. But disbanding probably propelled me to make *Shashin yo sayōnara* (*Farewell Photography*, 1972).

DD and WM: *Farewell Photography* comes soon after *For a Language to Come* by Nakahira (1970). How do you see the dynamic between the two books?

> **MD:** I do like Nakahira's work in that book. And also, since I didn't have a political agenda while doing *Provoke*, I was drawn only to Nakahira's work. I thought its degree of perfection was astounding. And his work in *For a Language to Come* is, as he describes himself, poetic, but I think it's much more interesting on a different level.

DD and WM: You were very young at the time. Was it difficult for you to publish that photobook?

> **MD:** Not really. The publisher was an individual (Mr. Yoshimura, who owned Shashin Hyoronsha) who happened to be interested in me. And also Kuwabara Kineo, a magazine editor and photography critic, seemed to like my work. So Mr. Kuwabara took my work to Mr. Yoshimura, and he said "OK."

DD and WM: *Farewell Photography* and *For a Language to Come* seem to be a continuation of *Provoke* in book form. They are more classical photobooks, but their energy is very raw; different than in *Japan: A Photo Theater*. Is that how you see it?

> **MD:** Yes. *Provoke*'s fourth "issue," *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* (*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty*, 1970), was a summation of the group.

DD and WM: You mean *Provoke* 4 is more like a book? The format seems to be between a magazine and a book.

> **MD:** Well, issue number 4 was a review, and in the form of a book, so it wasn't in magazine size. But what we were saying was the same thing.

DD and WM: Why this gap between issues 3 and 4? Why did you go completely another way with number 4?

> **MD:** That was mainly up to Nakahira and Taki. I was just told to produce my photographs. So I don't know. I wasn't involved in the editing process. *Provoke* started and ended with the two of them.

DD and WM: What did you think of Takanashi's work?

MD: I like his work for the second issue. He took the fashion models off the stage. The rest, I don't care about. As I've said, I was really only interested in Nakahira. Taki was a great photography critic. I understood that. But I didn't think his photos were that interesting. I only looked at Nakahira's work. It was that alluring. I thought he had a considerable talent.

DD and WM: What was your relationship with Nakahira after Provoke? You spent almost a year in New York in 1971.

MD: We saw each other once in a while. But the way we went about life was a bit different, so we didn't meet that often.

DD and WM: Why? You were not friends anymore? Or simply because the project was over?

MD: It's not that our friendship had ended. We would just meet up and drink once in a while. He was a charming man. After Provoke he went more into writing, and probably changed his style.

DD and WM: In the beginning, were there any books on photo theory, or any critical commentary on your work, that were important for you?

MD: No, not really. I was very harshly criticized. They would use words like "dirty." They didn't understand the "rough" or "grainy" either. There was one critic by the name of Watanabe Ben, and he was really the only one who offered good reviews of me, Nakahira, and *Provoke*. He passed away a long time ago. But he understood us.

DD and WM: You have also said, "I kept with the Provoke project all my life." What do you mean by that?

MD: It's my sentiment. Yes, that's what I think. Not that anyone's given me permission.

DD and WM: Do you remember the Provoke period as a happy period? A stimulating period? A sad period? As a period of anger?

MD: As I mentioned previously, it was one emotional scar after another. But it was stimulating.

DD and WM: Some photographers, like Araki, didn't join Provoke.

MD: Araki has mentioned that he actually wanted to join Provoke. He was envious.

DD and WM: His early Xerox photography was very much in the tone of Provoke. Were Nakahira or Taki not interested in having him?

MD: I don't think so. It was more of a time and schedule issue. Araki was still working at Dentsu as a cameraman during the Provoke years. After that, I think he went on to do his own Provoke.

DD and WM: Were there attempts to bring other photographers into Provoke?

MD: Not really.

DD and WM: You mention that it was not really your project, but that it belonged to Nakahira and Taki. It seems like you distance yourself from Provoke as such.

MD: If you want to know more about Provoke, you should also get in touch with Takanashi Yutaka. Because he was involved from the first issue. He probably has a starkly different viewpoint from mine.

DD and WM: At one point Takanashi said that the radical language of Provoke risked becoming a style. And that is when you stopped. It was an interesting comment.

MD: I agree.

TAKANASHI YUTAKA
Interviewed by Diane Dufour and Walter Moser, with Sawada Yoko

Diane Dufour and Walter Moser: Could you tell us about your work prior to *Provoke*?

Takanashi Yutaka: I studied photography at the Nihon University College of Art. After graduation, I applied for newspaper and media jobs. But I failed. I had juvenile hypertension, and they thought that I would not be able to handle the hard work. So I had to map out a new route in order to make a living as a photographer. I decided I'd do commercial photography, and I became an assistant in a small [commercial] studio, and also worked as a darkroom technician. I wanted to study design and architecture, so I joined night classes at Kuwasawa Design School. In order to join, I asked Ōtsuji Kiyoji[1] for advice. So Ōtsuji was a big influence on me. During the day, I would do my own photography. I would carry my 4 × 5 inch view camera around town and go out on the streets to shoot. I wanted to study inanimate objects. I was heavily influenced by surrealism. So you could say that I was studying on my own how to interpret and reinterpret objects (or the world).

DD and WM: When was that?

TY: My first exhibition was in 1960. The title was *Samushingu erusu* (*Something Else*). This was more tableau work. Fragments or corners of the city.

DD and WM: [Eugène] Atget was important for you, right?

TY: The first influence, related to surrealism, was Atget. *Something Else* was more abstract, so it wasn't about the place; it was shot in Tokyo, but it was still abstract. But my style has been changing all the time. My first photojournalistic work was *Otsukaresama*, a portrait series of TV stars. That won the Japan Photo Critics Association Newcomer Award. I shot people like Sakamoto Kyū.[2] I would summon him to the studio and there would be no background. But I would think of the setup beforehand. Probably, nothing like that had been done at the time in Japan. I had a very clear idea in my mind of how I would create the setup. And that setup is influenced by surrealism. They were not naturalistic portraits. They were quite "out there."

DD and WM: What inspired you to make the book *Tokyo-jin* (*Tokyoites*, 1966)?

TY: When I got the Newcomer Award, I felt that this wasn't what I *really* wanted to do. I was doing snapshots, and I wasn't all that happy about winning the award with *Otsukaresama*. That was just a piece of work in which I used commercial photography techniques, with a bit of help from surrealism. It wasn't the essence of what I wanted to do. So I decided to do the same for candid photography with *Tokyoites*. It is influenced by Robert Frank's *The Americans*.

Sawada Yoko: In Japanese, Frank's book is titled *America-jin*. Takanashi named his own work *Tokyo-jin* after that. It's a very unusual way to say "Tokyoites" or Tokyo dwellers.

TY: Moving to Provoke, while Nakahira [Takuma] and Moriyama [Daidō] were influenced by William Klein, I was influenced by Robert Frank. My works were more static. Theirs were more blurry. For me, I believe photography needs to be in focus. So, that's how we are different.

DD and WM: Why in focus?

1 – Ōtsuji Kiyoji (1923–2001) was an influential teacher and multi-media artist.
2 – Sakamoto Kyū (1941–1985) was a singer and actor who had a number one hit in the US with the song "Sukiyaki."

TY: Because you're using a lens. It's only natural. Don't you think? It's simple logic. Also, I don't feel the need to trim. I'm very different from Nakahira and Moriyama in that respect too. Moriyama blows up or crops most of his works afterward. And they followed the "no-finder" style [meaning they didn't use the finder while shooting] whereas I look through the finder, but I still accept whatever comes into the frame. So it's about phenomenology and epistemology. It's not a graphic approach. I think photography is a method for recognition.

DD and WM: What did you think about the Vivo photographers?

TY: I was amazed by their work. Especially Tōmatsu [Shōmei]. On the other hand, it might be a bit cheeky to say this, but looking back, I think Vivo produced work that was "high quality modern." Everyone was following Europe. Narahara [Ikko] was influenced by Spain; Hosoe [Eikō] was influenced by [Antoni] Gaudí, and he shot Gaudí's work. Kawada [Kikuji] too. The only one that I found truly "contemporary" was Tōmatsu. The rest were "modern."

DD and WM: What interested you about Tōmatsu?

TY: Tōmatsu's work had nothing to do with Europe. It had the grittiness of Japan. It derived its strength from that. He wanted to transcend "modern." And, when it comes to what is "contemporary," that began with Provoke. Everything preceding that is "modern." And everything before Vivo is "pre-modern." I say these things, and that's why they don't like me [*laughs*].
[Jean-Luc] Godard had a profound influence on me: the jump-cuts. And dialogue that doesn't follow the imagery. His sudden use of poems creates a tension. So I respect Godard, and his director of photography, Raoul Coutard. I love Coutard's work. In *Tokyoites* there's a famous photograph of a man in a café eating curry rice. In the back there's a still photograph of a film. The film is [Godard's] *A Woman is a Woman*. There's also a photograph of Godard and Coutard at the airport. Look, and you'll see. So that was my homage and gesture of recognition toward Godard. You can see things like that in my other work as well. Also I've met Chris Marker twice, you know. This was in Paris. There was a commercial shoot with the SLON collective, and they took me to their office. And I also met him in the Golden Gai area in Shinjuku. There is an affinity between those people and Robert Frank. I met Jonas Mekas too. Those three are very similar. Maybe it's generational.

DD and WM: So *Tokyoites* led to your joining Provoke. But what was the pull for you?

TY: Nakahira saw *Tokyoites*, and also, he was an editor, and I worked with him.

DD and WM: In the magazine *Gendai no me* (*Contemporary Eye*)?

TY: Yes. And Tōmatsu's "I Am a King" [was serialized in that magazine]. Nakahira was the editor, but because it was a series where two photographers collaborate, Tōmatsu said that he wanted to work with me. And the theme for our issue was "Photography." I think I did a good job then, and Tōmatsu liked my work. And Nakahira observed this. And he saw *Tokyoites* and that's why he asked me to join. But I was hesitant, because at the time I was working for the Nippon Design Center. Yokoo Tadanori was there too. But Nakahira was persistent. My workplace was in Ginza. And so Nakahira, Okada [Takahiko], and Taki [Kōji] came over to Ginza and persuaded me to join.

DD and WM: Do you remember what arguments they made?

TY: They stood in opposition to the photographic expression of the times. It's not about style. Provoke shaped their style as they went along, but I didn't know much about that. They were critical of the status quo. And that's why they called upon me to join. Those three were involved in the exhibition *100 Years of Photography*. They were on the committee. So they had studied the history of Japanese photography. I think that's why they had something to say about the photography of our period.

DD and WM: Did you collaborate on the first issue? Were you involved in the selection? And was the name Provoke already established?

TY: I was still working in the Nippon Design Center, so I did that and *Provoke* at the same time. So I would shoot for Provoke while I was on location for the Nippon Design Center. I just gave the photographs to them and didn't do much else. But they did ask me to come and help print the first issue. Nakahira dragged me to the printer. Nakahira also told me to come for the layout of *Gendai no me*. He was strict about that. At one point, there was this sentiment in Provoke that gritty and dirty meant strength, but Nakahira was very adamant about the printing quality.

DD and WM: As for the selection and the sequence and text by Okada and Nakahira, was it what you had expected?

TY: I didn't have a good understanding of Provoke at the time, so I thought, "Well, ok."

DD and WM: The manifesto is about finding another language aside from the spoken language. Could you identify with that?

TY: That was Nakahira and Taki. I read it. But I didn't contribute to it. I thought it was a grand statement. A good one.

DD and WM: We read that it was difficult to finance the first issue. And since you were working, maybe *Provoke* would not have been possible without you. Is that true? Were you a sponsor of *Provoke*?

TY: I was working and so I paid whatever my dues were. Taki was also working, at a public relations magazine. He paid up front. Okada paid too. The other two photographers haven't paid to this day! They were dependent on Taki. They say he is the boss of their hearts.

DD and WM: Did you split the costs?

TY: Yes, but there were those who didn't pay, and Taki paid for them.

DD and WM: Among the group, Nakahira and Taki were directly involved in political protests, yes? But not the rest of the group. Did this divide create friction or debate in Provoke? Was a "new language" the group's only aim or was political participation important?

TY: To my knowledge, Nakahira and Taki didn't take part in demonstrations. Neither Moriyama nor I were involved in the political scene. We were only into photography.

DD and WM: Did it create any tension with others who were participating?

TY: No, not at all. They (or those who participated) didn't particularly ask others to do the same. And I was still working at the Nippon Design Center. But, politics aside, Nakahira and Okada were very much on the same page. I saw that they respected each other

greatly. Nakahira was influenced by Okada. Moriyama would shoot a lot of photographs of inanimate objects: he would take blurred images of objects in supermarkets and so forth, and Taki would say that it was ...

SY: An overflow of things. Moriyama would take photos of things: washing powder or whatever. He showed them to Taki, who simply said, "This is an overflow of things."

TY: So they were able to complement each other. But Taki's photographs were influenced by Moriyama. He may not have been a true photographer. He would take these ugly pictures of naked women. He didn't really understand photography. His photos are those that Moriyama *might* have taken. Taki thought "ugly" to be more real. And that was not unrelated to Moriyama. Nakahira's sensibility, on the other hand, was very close to Okada in that he pursued quality printing.

DD and WM: What was the evolution, do you think, of the three issues of *Provoke*? How would you define the progression?

TY: I'm not sure I'd call it a "progression." In the third issue, we had no theme. In the first issue was "summer." And then there was "Eros" (the second issue). "Eros" was a theme of sorts. I don't think we had a fixed theme for no. 3. What we had selected indeed felt appropriate for the third issue. But there was no particular development. I shot a lot of fashion shows for no. 3. Brands Like Paco Rabanne and Courrèges, when they had their first fashion shows in Japan. Some people misunderstood. Because I was also shooting fashion for commercial photography, for fashion magazines. But [the two projects] were very different things. I also saw "fashion" as a symptom of civilization. In Japan there was also Comme des Garçons [Kawakubo Rei]. There were figures emerging who thought fashion was not just a trend but a current in civilization. But those who didn't read deeply enough would look at my work and say, "Oh, this is commercial photography." Personally, I don't think you'd be able to use them for commercial purposes.

DD and WM: Was the spirit that of a collectively made assignment? You were all shooting for something that you had decided on together?

TY: There was no discussion. For me, it was about shooting the current state of civilization. So, for each of us, it was our own thoughts.

SY: Each photographer had a kind of theme as each person was interested in some subject or other, and they brought that to the next issue of *Provoke*.

DD and WM: When do you think the "blur" of *Provoke* stopped being a language and started to become a style?

TY: I'm not sure... . Many younger photographers became similar. They were very much like Moriyama. Nakahira's style would be hard to follow. But it was superficial emulation. Because Nakahira was a poet. Moriyama is essentially a designer. Or you could say that he was an artist. But Nakahira was a poet and a photographer. That's why he was able to *deny* poetry. Because he is a poet.

DD and WM: So, you, Moriyama, and Nakahira would produce photos for each issue and Taki and Okada would produce texts. Is that correct?

TY: For example, Okada had a famous poem that went "ōmata biraki ni taete samayoe" (legs spread wide, endure, wander, from the book *Wagahitomi* [*My Eyes*]). That's what he wrote for "Eros." The photographers, writers, and poet all gave what they had to *Provoke*.

Again, I was isolated in my photography, so Yoshimasu [Gōzo][3] took pity on me and offered a text to accompany my work.

SY: Yoshimasu was not a Provoke member, but Okada asked him to contribute.

TY: They were both members of the poetry magazine *Dramu kan* (Drum). Among the poems that Okada wrote for my photography was one that goes, "Kono yūgasa wa izen toshite nazo de aru" (This gracefulness is still a mystery).

DD and WM: Graceful is the opposite of provocative?

TY: Yes. So there's this white and transparent work in my photography. And that's quite a stark contrast from the darker photographic work that the others did. But there's also a danger to whiteness. I don't know if you know this one, one of my works is a white photo with a sea and solitary figures—it's very washed out with figures by the sea. The ebb and the flow of the water creates the illusion that they are standing in it. You could call that an elegy, you could call it gracefulness. That whiteness. It's *aika* (elegiac), Okada would say.

DD and WM: When Nakahira and Moriyama published *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* (*For a Language to Come*) and *Shashin yo sayōnara* (*Farewell Photography*), how did you react?

TY: When Provoke neared the end, I felt that we might return to words again. *Farewell Photography* also felt like a reversion to words. I felt encouragement from Nakahira's words. But there was a more desperate feeling from Moriyama—a dead-end kind of feeling. In Japan they call me the photographer of methodology, because I change my methods with each project. That's because I don't want to repeat myself. Nakahira was like that too. So I felt that he was not looking back but going ahead. And like Nakahira, I was also looking ahead by changing my method of photography. I'll candidly say that Moriyama was backward-looking. He hasn't changed since. Wherever he is, he is the same.

DD and WM: Why was Araki not asked to join Provoke at the beginning?

TY: To this day, Nakahira probably doesn't approve of Araki. Araki tends to be misunderstood. [His work] seems like it's eroticism and nothing else.

DD and WM: Araki's Xerox books, however, were made at the time of Provoke and project a similar spirit. It seems that it could have made sense to ask Araki to join. Was he refused because he was in advertising, working for Dentsu?

TY: His early works are similar to *Provoke* because they're ugly. I threw my copy [of his books] away. Araki sent copies to a writer by the name of Kanai Mieko, and she also said, "I thought it was ugly, so I immediately threw it away!" The photographers that he *did* send the work to, were those that he perhaps felt would like them.

DD and WM: Did Nakahira and Taki receive copies too?

TY: Probably. But it was never discussed. We never really talked about Araki at Provoke.

DD and WM: It is very often said that Provoke stopped for internal and external reasons.

TY: There were epigons emerging.

DD and WM: Too many imitators?

3 – Yoshimasu Gōzō (born 1939) is a poet, photographer, artist, and filmmaker active since the 1960s.

TY: Yes, especially among the younger generation. It's probably easy to imitate Moriyama's work. It's easy to copy.

DD and WM: Why not continue without Moriyama and reinvent?

TY: It's a difficult issue. Being too concerned with meaning (or purpose) can be a double-edged sword. How much distance do you put between yourself and meaning—it is a difficult balance. When I was young, I studied semantics. Well, the basics, at least. It was difficult, but I did. There are critics who write about the disease of meaning. You can observe that sort of element in Nakahira's work.
[What I call] pre-modern photography was over-infused with meaning, and suffocating. Photographers before Vivo were like that. Their works were utterly infused with meaning. Photography depended on the meaning of the subject.

DD and WM: In 1974, *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*) was published. This was a collaboration with the designer Sugiura Kohei. He was the designer for *Barakei* (*Ordeal by Roses*, 1961), and Kawada Kikuji's book *Chizu* (*The Map*, 1965). How did you come to know this designer? Were you already familiar with these two books?

TY: I did buy *The Map*. I find Sugiura to be a very intellectual designer. He's not your normal graphic designer. There's a difference in age [between us] but we share a generational sensibility. That's significant to me. When I brought the work [for *Towards the City*] to Sugiura, he said "A book is opened and read on the table. When you look at [this work], it's a bit big for something to look at on a table. But there's an element to your work that is expansive, so I think we should go with [a book that is] the same size as your prints." He liked the way that it stretched out. There's a sense of expansion.

DD and WM: Who made the selection? Who did the sequencing, and the editing?

TY: Sugiura did it all. If I trust someone, I leave it all to him. The fade-in and fade-out was Sugiura. In order to show the facade of civilization. It was a good design. Even now, when I ask someone to design, I leave it to them.

DD and WM: Why was *Tokyoites* inserted as a second small book into the center of *Towards the City*? How was this conceived?

TY: That was very significant. When I first published *Tokyoites*, I found its small size ideal.

SY: For *Tokyoites* Takanashi called himself the gatherer of scraps, and also the image hunter. These two monsters resided in him ... and he thought it was a beautiful arrangement.

TY: But Walter Benjamin had already used those words: "gatherer of scraps" and "image hunter." I found this in a catalog that Mr. Tanaka [Jun] wrote on Miyamoto Ryūji.[4] Miyamoto also shoots trash-like buildings, you see? He mentions in the catalog that to understand a city, trash is an important key. He also mentions that I said that. But it was actually said even before, first by Benjamin. That's what I found out in the catalog. In any case, I was fed up with all the messiness that was *Tokyoites*, and I wanted to erase it.

DD and WM: Why did you want to erase it?

TY: Because there was trash in it. So I told Sugiura, "print *Tokyoites* on black paper or something." He said, "It's ok if it's thick, but perhaps you might want to make it in notebook form." And if you look at the paper, you'll notice there's a slight tint. It's not white. It's expensive paper. And what was amazing was that Sugiura said "Takanashi, photographs

are not for you alone." When I asked him to make *Tokyoites* dark and black, that's what he said. Impressive, right?

SY: Because Takanashi had asked Sugiura to print the *Tokyoites* photos on black paper so as to erase his previous work. But, Sugiura said "No, no."

TY: And so *Tokyoites* is buried in the larger book, *Towards the City*; [it sits at the center of the book box] in a cut-out insert. Like a grave. Some *Tokyoites* photos do also appear in *Towards the City*.

DD and WM: It is said that *Provoke* went unnoticed in its day. Very few people saw copies, it was restricted in its distribution. Today it's considered a masterpiece publication. At that time, when you were a part of it, did you feel that the group was aiming at history, or simply expressing the energy of the times?

TY: It was really the era that drove us to do that. There was a certain atmosphere. I don't know about "history." But it could not have been done if it wasn't for that era. It was the political sentiment of the times. That affected us.

DD and WM: Did you ever sense that it would be appreciated to this degree?

TY: Not at all. None of us thought about that. That's probably why we were able to do what we did. But Nakahira took a bad turn and Moriyama was very depressed after Provoke. So it was not only a game for free. They both suffered. They were taking drugs, but I didn't have that inclination. So I thought, what I should do is shoot parts of the city that were spared from war or natural disaster. And that is *Machi* (*Town*, 1977). So, *Town* came out, I think, because of *Provoke*.

Nakahira went on to write about materialism. I was doing the *Town* serial for *Asahi Camera* magazine, and Nakahira encouraged me. By the way, this year [2015], from May to September at the National Museum of Modern Art, they are going to do an exhibition of 1970s materialism. Nakahira is writing an introduction for it, and the curator asked me if he could use my work from *Town*. I think they are going to show work by Mono-ha artists too. All of it is based on Nakahira's philosophy.

What I'm most interested in right now ... I'm going to put out a new book in the summer. That's important to me. To always turn out something new. I don't look back. That's the Provoke *esprit*. Look at Nakahira.

4 – Miyamoto Ryūji (born 1947) is a photographer known for his work on the transformation of the city and architectural destruction. Takanashi may be referring to *Shashin gihō to hyōgen*, (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2004).

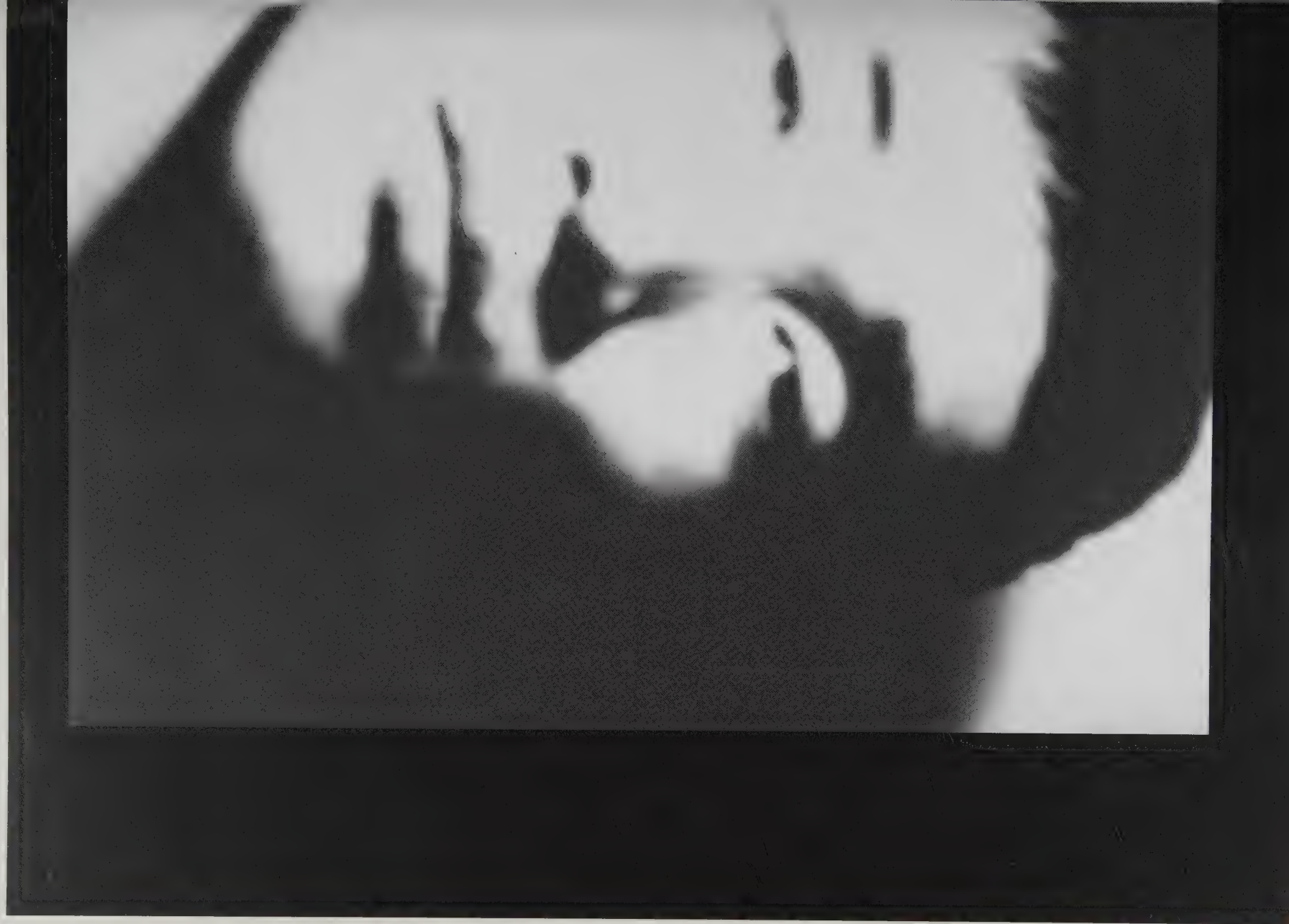
PERFORMANCE

78 – Nakanishi Natsuyuki – *General Catalogue of Males* – 1963 – Detail from a cyanotype scroll

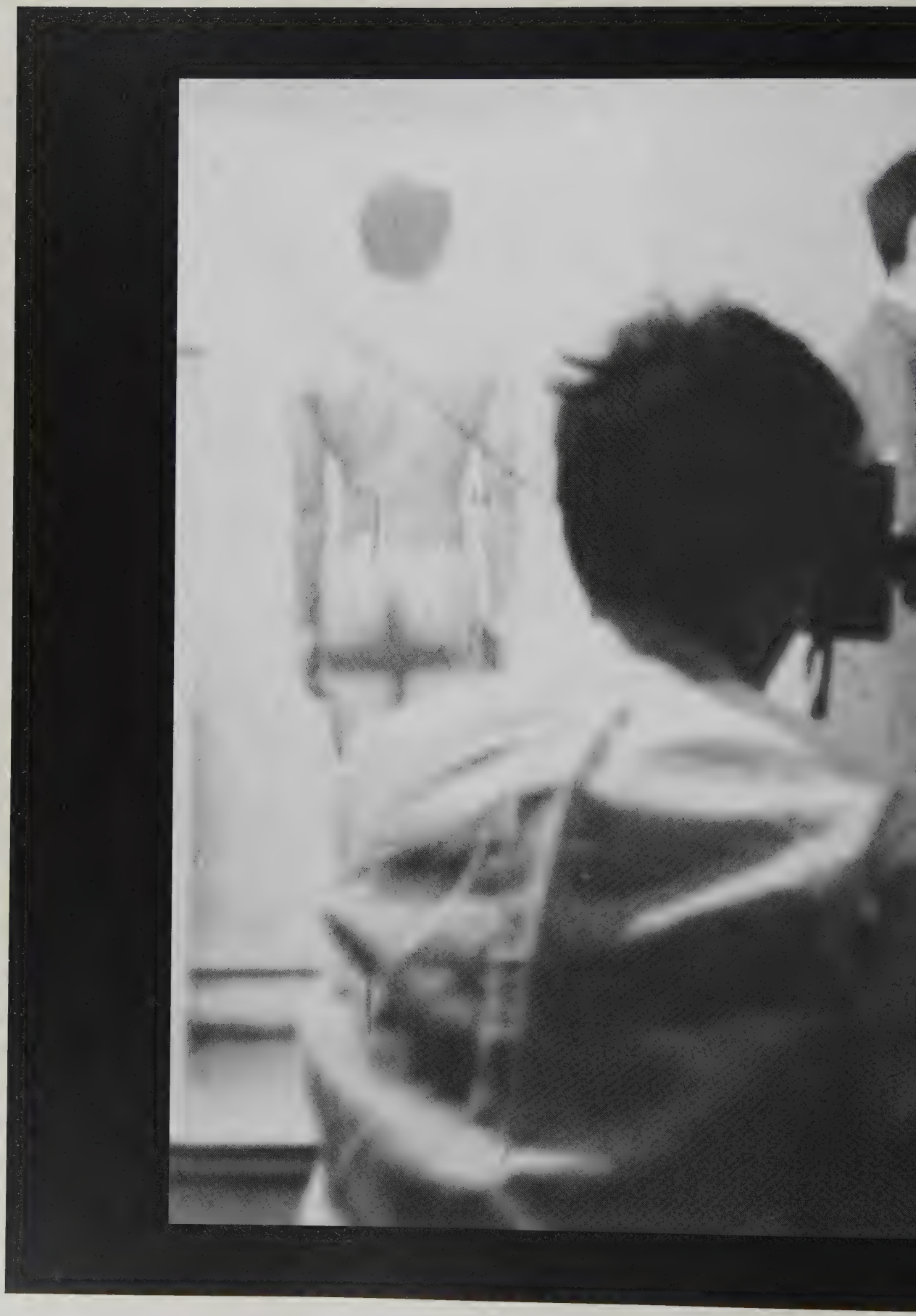
Hi Red Center
"Sakkano no hatsugen to sakuhin" (Memorandum to You)

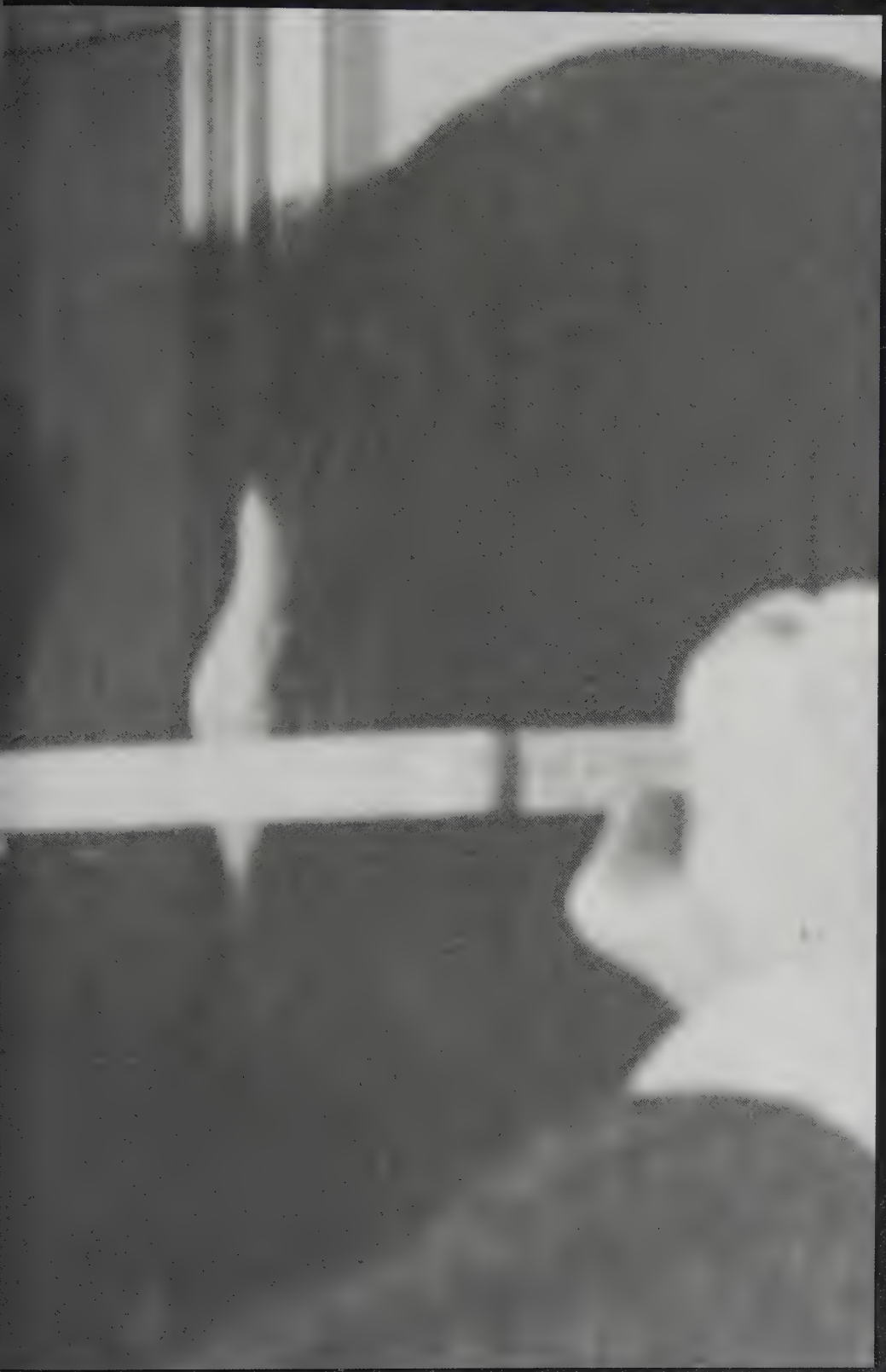
If you encounter a baffling event or a strange incident, Hi Red Center is not unconnected to you. If you cannot make judgments about causes and effects beyond your cognition and calculations, you cannot deny that such incidents have not grown in front of you from a variety of seeds planted as part of the niche operations of the Center. What fascinates, impels, and fills us with vital and strong tensions based on numerous experiments and experiences over a period of twenty-odd years is absolutely not found within the completed object itself. Rather, we have inferred that it always exists in the indeterminate and unresolved. This kind of thinking is the point of departure for all plans by the Center. It creates opportunities for things. Whereas corporations manage to turn out completed objects in the course of their business, the work of the Center ends with the creation of opportunities. It unfolds while overturning and transforming plans and images, developing in a way that is unfathomable to the parties concerned, or providing energy that fades away within a set of circumstances. It is the thing as a seed. In our industry, the case of the counterfeit thousand-yen bills, the case of Soka Jirō and the exploding objects, and the platform-pushing incident are some of the things that have recently shown strong permeability without making contact. Like all corporations, Hi Red Center does not regret releasing its products into society. However it grows and develops, that is the action of circumstances and has nothing to do with us. Consequently, Hi Red Center provides absolutely no after-sales warranty services for such incidents, for which we cannot be held responsible.

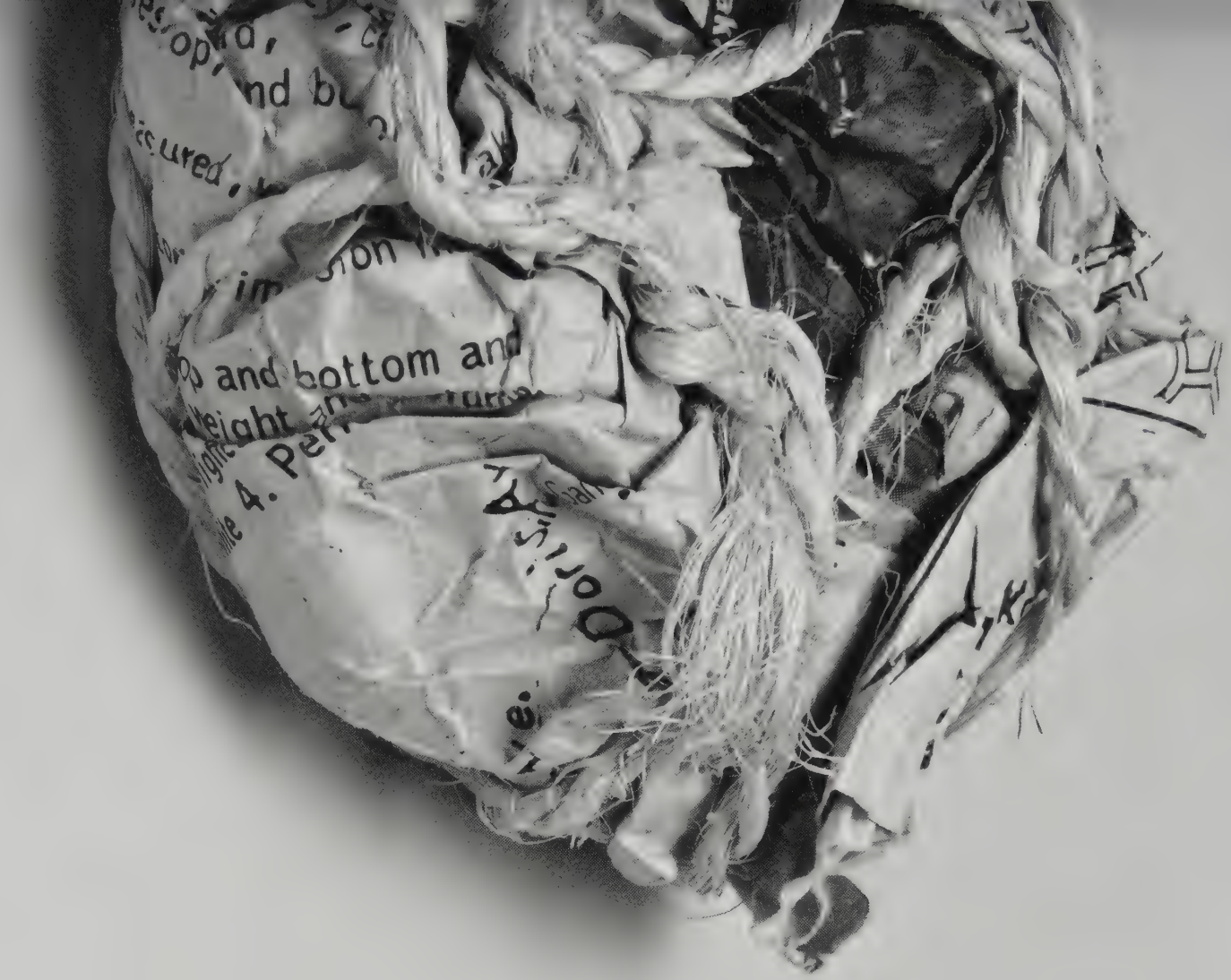
***Bijutsu techō* 227, October 1963: 35-40.**



80 – Jōnouchi Motoharu – *Hi Red Center Shelter Plan* – 1964 – Film







81 – Akasegawa Genpei, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Takamatsu Jirō – *Bundle of Events* – 1965 – Poster

3
7
20
高松次郎
TAKAMATU · HI
赤瀬川原平
AKASEGAWA · RED
中西夏之
NAKANISHI · CENTER
7
time bomb by Kazakura
7
Akasegawa
13
19
6
21
9
6
7
Akasegawa
NAKANISHI
8
19
7
7
Nakanishi
8
AKASEGAWA
20
7
Takamatu
KAZAKURA
KAZAKURA

HI RED CEN TE R
TOSHIMA-KU
ARAKA
CHUO-KU
MEGURO-KU
1
15 Aug. 1963
Dinner party on the anniversary of non-V Day at Citizen's Hall. A great and delicious meal was eaten energetically by performers while audience observed. At midnight Kazakura branded his chest with hot iron.
2
15 Sept. 1962
Opening day of Jiritu-Gattuko. Nakanishi gave a lecture on art illustrating it on stage with pipe smoke.
3
18 Oct. Event on Yamate loop line street car.
1. A continuous black string with various everyday objects attached to it at intervals was laid out on street from moving street car along its circular route.
2. Compact objects were hung from hand straps inside street car and observed by performers at close range with battery lights.
3. Faces of performers were painted white 4. Performers read newspapers with holes burned in them.
4
22 Nov. 1962 Waseda University Event
1. All toilet seats were painted red by performers.
2. Performers strung together all auditorium seats while audience was sitting on them.
5
Feb. 1963
Akasegawa's show at Stinjiku Daiichi gallery. 1000 ¥ counterfeit bill printed as invitation and mailed out in money envelopes.
6
1 Mar. 1963 Yomiuri andi-pandan show at Ueno museum.
1. A black string with scraps of objects attached to it was laid out by Takamatu from museum to the National Ueno railway station.
2. 10,000 clothespins made by Nakanisi were attached to museum visitors.
3. Counterfeit 1000 ¥ bills made by Akasegawa were given away to museum visitors.
4. Kosugi performed his Anima 2 by entering a bag and playing an Indian drum inside.
5. Kazakura danced in the nude.
6. A miniature dinner was given featuring 5 grammes of curry rice for 100 ¥ or 7 grammes of spagetti for 100 ¥
7
7 May 1963
The 3rd Mixer Plan show show at Shinjiku Daiichi gallery.
8
8 Jan 1964, Police event.
Akasegawa interrogated by Metropolitan Police regarding the counterfeit 1000 ¥ bill.
9
7 July 1963
Naiqua gallery Tatu Izumi one man show
10
15 Aug. 1963
"Ror-Rogy" on roof of roof of Bijutu-shuttupan Co.
11
3 Nov. 1963, NHK Television show.
Smoking box by Takamatu.
Foaming fountain by Nakanishi.
Cotton candy with immersed spectacles, shoes etc. by Izumi, eaten by audience.
Kazakura was blowing up balloons and Kosugi performing his Anima 2.
12
Human box event at imperial Hotel, room no.340
1. Invitation required visitors to come with necktie, gloves and bag or package.
2. Visitors were given instructions in hotel lobby.
a) not to leave fingerprints on door knobs.
b) gesture in immitation of a woman putting on a red dress
c) while waiting in lobby to observe neighbours breathing and exhale as he inhales, inhale as he exhales
d) to bring 1000 ¥ bill as passport for entry into room.
In room 340 visitors:
a) had their 1000 ¥ stamped with Hi Red Center symbol,
b) name, address, sex, bag size, capacity, contents and fingerprint was registered on a card,
c) photos of front, back, sides, top, and bottom were taken of each visitor,
d) body of each visitor was measured, weighed and outline drawn,
e) volume measured of each visitor by immersion into a bathtub filled with water,
f) boxes with photos on all sides, top and bottom and matching each visitor in height, weight and volume could be ordered, or boxes at 1/2 or 1/4 scale could be ordered at less cost,
g) pretty girl brushed off the coats of visitors upon their exit.
13
10 May 1963
Promotional event at Shinbashi station square.
14
27 Jan. 1964, Asaki newspaper suspects Akasegawa of making the counterfeit 1000 ¥ bill
15
4 Feb. 1964
Protest agaist Asaki newspaper.
16
24 Feb. 1964
Akasegawa writes in Nipon Dokusho newspaper:
"My counterfeit 1000 ¥ as a problem to capitalist realism."
17
17 Apr. 1964
A fuzzy image of De Gaulle is broadcast to Japan by TV satellite. De Gaulle becomes sick same day.
18
12 June 1964
The Great Panorama show at Naiqua. The Gallery stayed closed for 5 days. After 5 days a cockroach was released from a bottle kept there.
19
10 Oct. 1964
Roof event on the roof of Ikenobo building. Books, pants, shirts, shoes, full trunk etc. were dropped from roof to street. Afterwards the smashed trunk was kept in the baggage room of Ochanomizu railroad station.
20
16 Oct. 1964
Cleaning event on Namiki St. Ginza, 9.30 AM.
1. Performers were dressed in white coats, white gloves, surgical masks, blind mans spectacles and armbands with Hi Red Center insignia "!"
2. Performers used dusters, floor brooms, housecloths, scrubbing brushes, sand paper, wire brushes, coat brushes, tooth brushes, cotton balls, window cleaning fluid, soap, deodorizer, alcohol etc. to clean the streets which they did very gently as they would their own rooms.
3. Cleaned streets were marked by posters saying: "this place already cleaned".
21
17-23 June, 1964
Off-museum show
Tsubaki Gallery
EDITED BY SHIGEKO KUBOTA © 1965 BY FLUXUS

83 – Hirata Minoru – *Shining Clothpins (Nakanishi Natsuyuki's clothespins on a model at the artist's studio)* – 1963 – Photograph

84 – Hirata Minoru – *Nakanishi Natsuyuki's Clothespins Assert Churning Action, for Hi Red Center's 6th Mixer Plan event, Tokyo* – 1963 – Photograph

85 – Hirata Minoru – *Hi Red Center's Cleaning Event/Be Clean!* – 1964 – Photograph

86 – Hirata Minoru – *Hi Red Center's Cleaning Event/Be Clean!* – 1964 – Photograph

87 – Hirata Minoru – *Hi Red Center's Dropping Event, at Ikenobō Kaikan, Takamatsu Jirō, Izumi Tatsu, Akasegawa Genpei, Kazakura Shō* – 1964 – Photograph

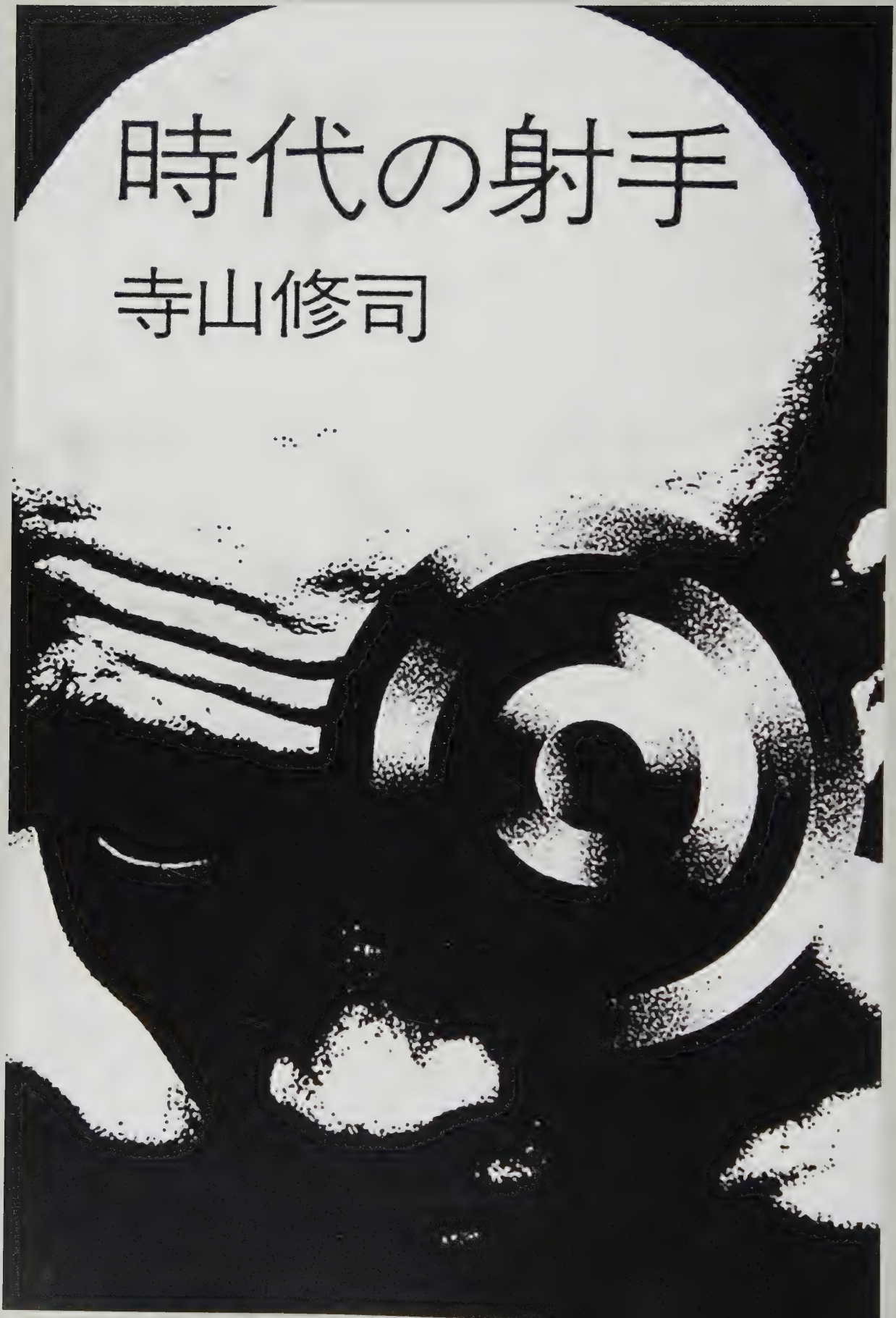
88 – Hirata Minoru – *Hi Red Center's Dropping Event at Ikenobō Kaikan* – 1964 – Photograph

89 – Murai Tokuji – Documentation of Nakanishi Natsuyuki with a *Compact Object* during the *Yamanote Line Incident* – 1962 – Photograph

90 – Murai Tokuji – Documentation of Nakanishi Natsuyuki with a *Compact Object* during the *Yamanote Line Incident* – 1962 – Photograph

時代の射手

寺山修司



91 – Moriyama Daidō – *Entrepreneur* by Terayama Shūji – 1967 – Book cover

Terayama Shūji
"Shibaigoya no soto de mita jigoku no yonmaku"
(Four Scenes of Hell I Saw Outside the Theater)

The film *Three Mothers* (1949) by Daiei Film indeed made you cry triple times.[1] I remember seeing it three times in an old theater, where the odor from their non-flush toilets irritated the nose. Life is like a street theater from a time before films were made and it is filled with sorrows. That's why I escape into the darkness of the movie theater, letting the movies handle life's misfortunes on screen. When I realized that my mother was not going to return from her two-day trip on a ferry and that I had become an "orphan," she was already working as a barmaid in a coal town. Ever since my mother left, I never cleaned the house. When I found my mother's hair on the tatami floor, I would wrap it around my finger and measure its length. I was fine for about two months, but around autumn, when I was bathing in a public bath, tears fell down my face ...

By wintertime, I could no longer live on my own, and people from the welfare office came and arranged for me to be taken into my relative's family. On the last day in my house, I suddenly had the idea to lift the tatami mats off the floor... . Underneath, I found a pornographic book [*The Desired Utopia*]. I hid it in my schoolbag, away from the eyes of the welfare workers, and read it alone on the night train. It was the beginning of my horrifying "lifetime of reading." The book was a little difficult for a thirteen-year-old. On the train, I tried replacing words I couldn't understand with the name "Hatsu." Hatsu is my mother's legal name.

"I swiftly grabbed her waist and brought her closer, setting my hand in between her lithe thighs. I inserted my finger in her Hatsu that was soft like a sprout. Hatsu then said, Ah!

She twisted her body, turned her Hatsu, and gradually became more Hatsu. Hatsu dripped down her thighs, and Hatsu's eyes burned with passion. It was about time. I lifted one of her legs and let Hatsu slightly peep through the back, Hatsu-ing the Hatsu several times. Then I Hatsued in one breath. Hatsu's Hatsu being Hatsu enough, I slipped in easily to reach the Hatsu. At that moment, even with Hatsu now being used to Hatsu, Hatsu cried out, "Ha!" Breathing heavily, she Hatsued the Hatsu, Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu, Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu, Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu Hatsu.[2] Killing Mother with one's soul. Am I crying and laughing? Hahahahahahahaha.

The Second Song: Oh, Wakao Ayako

Allow me to write you a fan letter
I am a zit-faced high school-student—also known as the illegitimate child of books. I never tell lies. I like you.

Ms. Wakao Ayako, you steal souls. Every day at sunset, I would see your image projected onto the theater of the sky.
I chased your face that was bigger than the clouds. The self I was back then
Will never return
Ms. Wakao Ayako, you are what I lack, a timeless time.
And you are also a circus that travels
Through the hills before one's life.

At the time, I was studying to get admitted to a maritime school. In the second floor of my lodge, I remade Marx's writings into sexual songs, while looking at my thin beard using the surfaces of a jackknife... .

Ms. Wakao Ayako, I shall become a sailor. Sailors are really cool because they can lower their anchor anywhere.

The chains of the soul, stammering rope, the anchor of poetry!
In between your image on the movie screen and my dreadful hangover
The concrete presence of an anchor that has been lowered should never be erased. I will lower my anchor down into your smile.
Carrying illusions as my hand luggage of today.
I shall surpass you. From the ... port town of Tōhoku. Whereto? Wherever. As long as there is a movie theater!
Napping inside the theater that is playing Wakao Ayako's movies
I wake up from sleep. And I fall asleep again!
From serving an era. To betraying a different era. I recite.
I will keep paying 150 yen to buy your smiling face.

The Third Song: Eyeball Repairer's Phantom Crime

According to the eyeball repairer, the two eyes of human beings serve different purposes. One theory states that one eye looks at other individuals, while the other looks at the self. Another theory stipulates that one eye "discovers" while the other eye "abandons."

Anyhow, if you find that the two eyes are imbalanced, you must scoop one of them out with a sickle. Then, for the eye that "discovers" the self, it is good to wipe the blood off, polish it with an oil-stained black cloth until it shines, and display it on the dark drawing-room table. I will keep on abandoning the world with my remaining eye, and maybe travel to Siberia. The one eye I'm left with will gaze at people endlessly in order to abandon them, and on the boundless clouds of the sunset in people's hometowns,

It will count the number of swallows that are flying by, as I rest with my eye closed.
Amidst the comfort of a new darkness
A gentle, blindfolded era goes by... .

My vision will become that of a hawk, glancing at the horizon, at faraway winter fields. But the horizon of my imagination is vast and cold. I cannot spot the practitioner, and because of that the punishment still awaits!

The Fourth Song: The ABC Code of Conduct: Shinjuku Episode

Once I was gifted a human finger stuffed into a jar. Masa gave it to me as proof of our friendship. The finger preserved in alcohol looked blue like waxwork. "I didn't have medicinal alcohol, so I soaked it with liquor—generously with V.S.O.P."

If you are getting married, don't marry a yakuza
Yakuza will be full of troubles[3]

... Masa's life has similarly been full of hardships. He ended up in jail on charges of injury and assault. But somehow he could never forget the time we shared in the hospital when we had the same disease, so it seems he's been trying hard to maintain our friendship as if turning a collection of sentimental poems page by page. I went to prison to gift him his favorite pieces of salmon. He was elated, and asked if he could do anything for me. So I said, "Hmm, I'm interested in the doodles on prison walls. Could you write them down and show me?"

After a week, he sent me a notebook full of the scribbles from the walls: "The Guestbook of Jail: Essays on Life." Reading the notebook, I realized that prison is just another "theater."

Below I present to you one part of it, some stage directions for a one-time show that will never be performed again. I dedicate this documentary to Masa's fellow inmates, who may feel nostalgic after reading it; my friend Masa; and all other rebels of our era.

"To whomever enters this cell: I, the defendant, am a so-called male prostitute from Yanaka, Taitō district. I live in the male prostitute room in the solitary building No. 1. Please write to me when you are lonely. My female name is Mitsuko. No. 3111 Tamashiro Reizō a.k.a. Mitsuko."

Cops are all stupid. Why do they arrest us transvestites? I'm not going to quit. It's so frustrating. Making men fall deeply in love. Damn bastards.

My name is Matsushita Gorō. I've liked women since I was a child. At age fifteen, people called me clit-licking Matsushita. I'll continue to love clits.

Glowing fireflies. Snow outside the window.[4]

Kill the octopus.

A lonely boy with no parents. The lonely wolf in fashion. Have not loved any girl. The only reliable thing is my Colt. Jikkoku-gumi of the Kantō region: MATSU, Tatsu. May 1, 1963, discharged from Nara Youth Detention Center. Arrested in July of the same year. Sentenced to one and a half to three years in Nara Juvenile Prison. In early 1964, started to serve my terms.

Spend your day as if it's a minute.

Yamamo Fujiko: jailed for murder.

Akemi Tomiko Midori Kazuko Nonko
Chibi Okuko Omaru Nanko Shō-chan Yukie[5]

I'm most scared about the beatings. I don't want to go to Fuchū Prison.

Saturday: I forgot
Friday: Who Am I?, Naniwa Entertainment Show[6]
Thursday: Hopeful Generation,[7] a professional baseball night game
Wednesday: Class On Wit, Cheerful Café[8]
Tuesday: Origins of a Story[9]
Monday: Three Songs[10]
Sunday: I forgot.

Everybody said he's a bad person, but to me he was always nice.

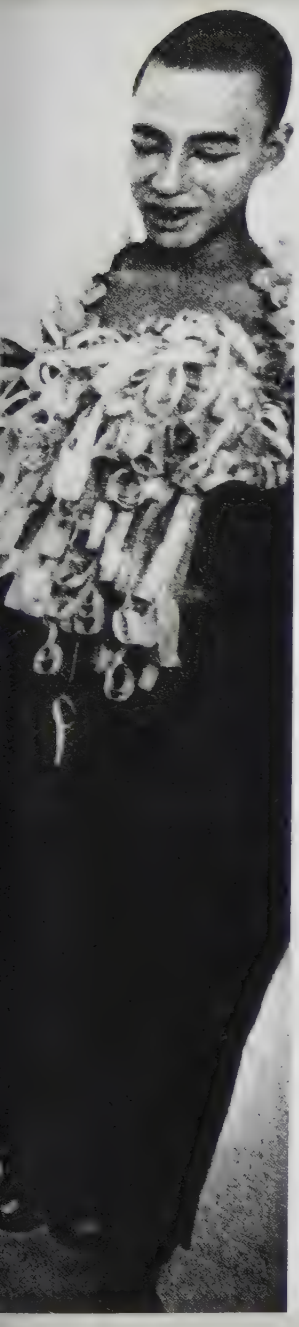
I masturbate to a photograph.
Teardrops fall—with them I write the word "obligation" ...

Moriyama Daidō, *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (Japan: A Photo Theater), Tokyo: Muromachi Shobō, 1968, np. Translated by Sandy Lin.

1 – At its release, the film was advertised with the slogan: "Will make you cry triple times."
2 – Terayama is punning on the words *hatsu* and *haha*, which look similar when written in Japanese *katakana* characters.
3 – The lyrics are quoted from the popular song, "Tabigasa Dōchū" [On the Road, Traveling with a Bamboo Hat], first released in 1935 and sung by Shōji Tarō (1898–1972).
4 – These are quoted from a popular children's song, "Hotaru no Hikari," which was first introduced in a collection of songs for elementary school children in the 1870s. In the song, the light of the fireflies (*hotaru no hikari*) is used by hard-working students to study at night.
5 – Female names and nicknames.
6 – The titles listed after the weekdays all refer to radio or TV programs. *Naniwa engeikai* [*Naniwa Entertainment Show*] is a popular program on NHK radio which has been broadcast every Friday since 1949. The program still exists but changed its name in 1970.
7 – *Kibō no sedai* [*Hopeful Generation*] is the title of a documentary TV program that aired on NHK from 1958 until 1960.
8 – *Tonchi kyōshitsu* [*Class on Wit*] was a weekly comedy program broadcast on NHK radio from 1949 until 1968; *Yōki na Kissaten* [*Cheerful Café*] was also a NHK radio show, popular in the 1950s.
9 – *Hanashi no Izumi* [*Origins of a Story*] is the title of an entertainment and quiz program which aired weekly on NHK radio from 1946 until 1964.
10 – *Mittsu no uta* [*Three Songs*] refers to a weekly music program on NHK radio, which aired from 1952 until 1970.

93 – Moriyama Daidō – *Japan: A Photo Theater* – 1968 – Book

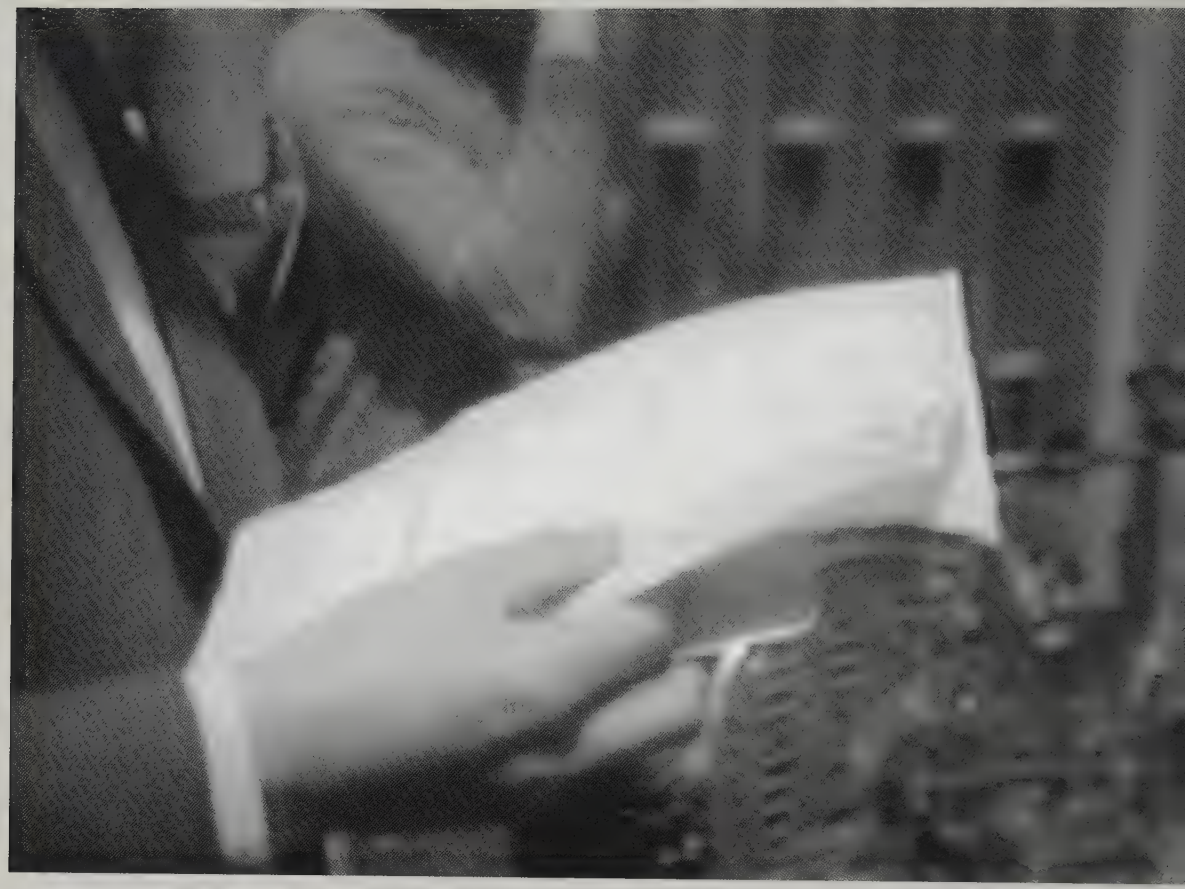
乱交
新宿
入口
入口

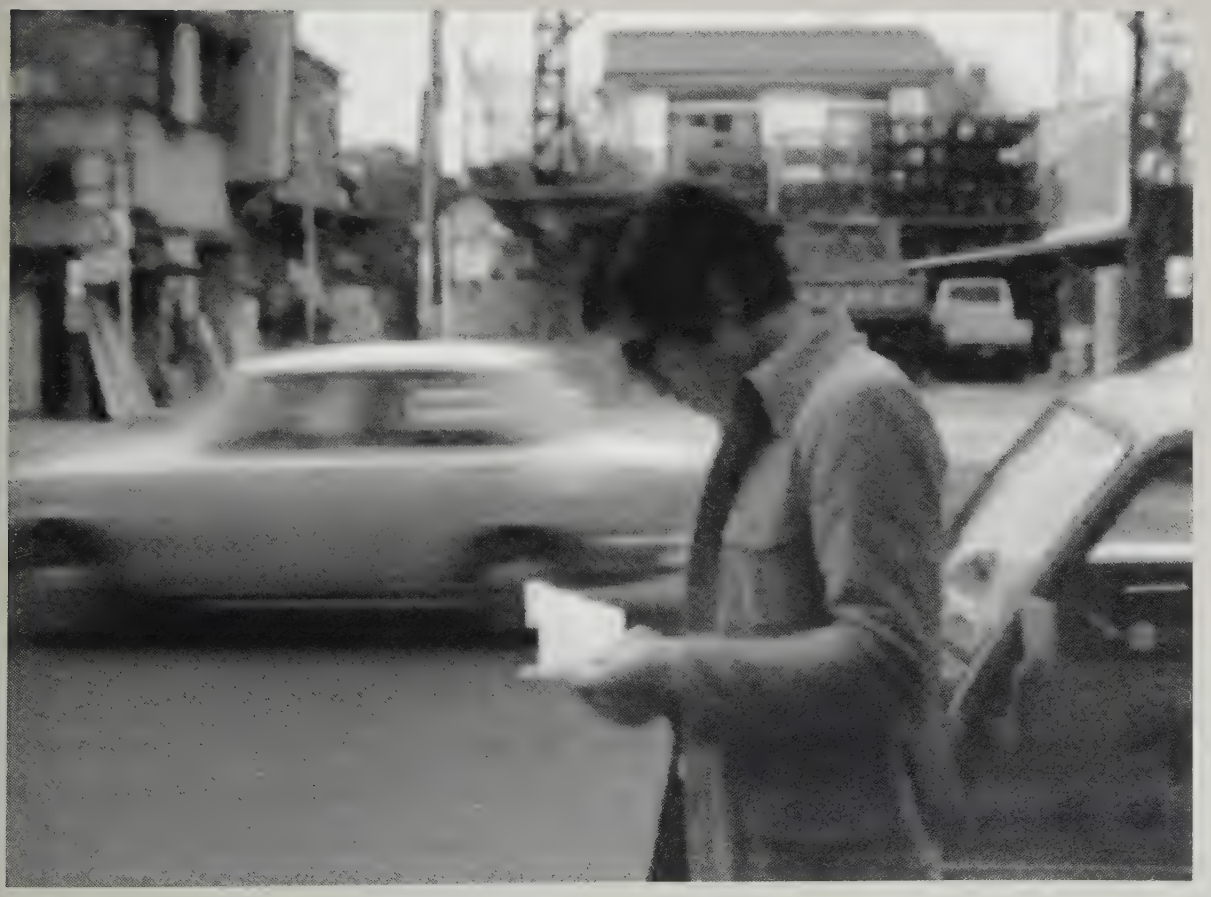


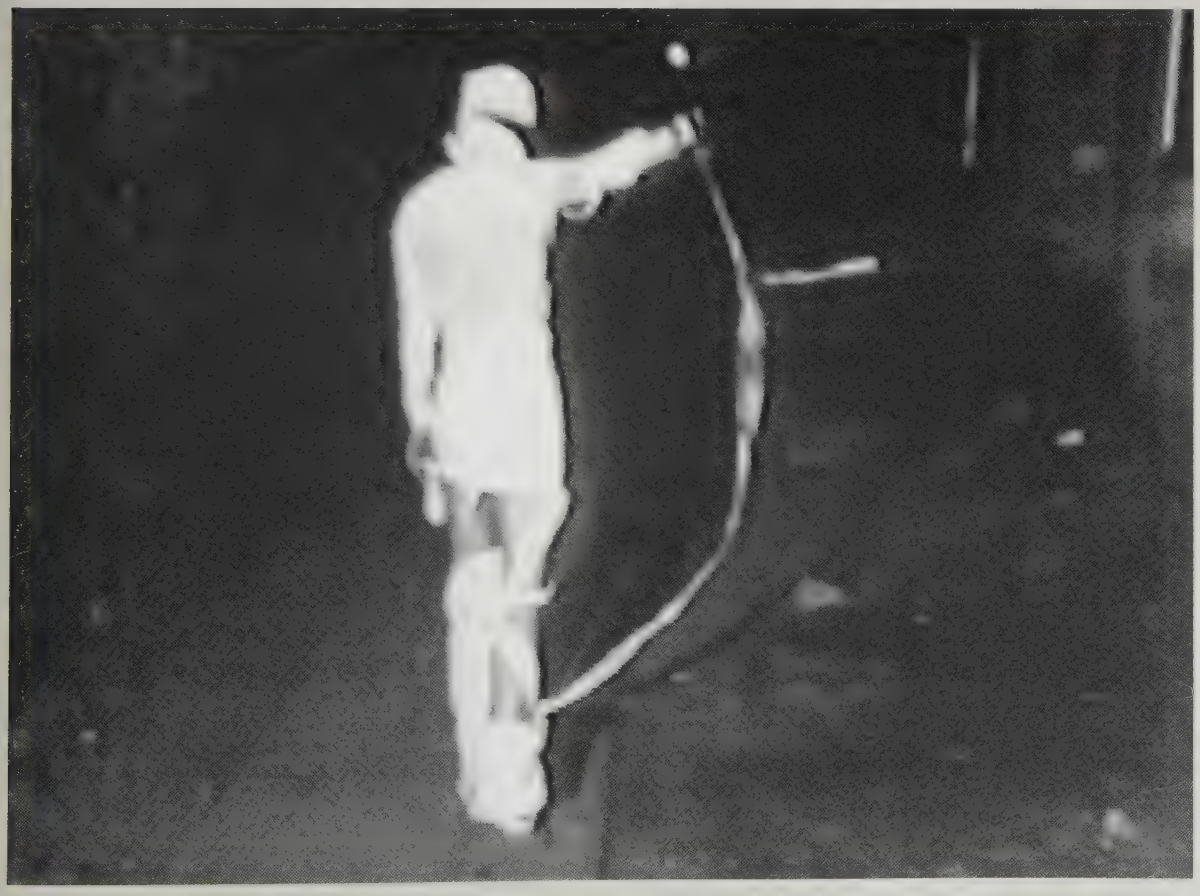
ノック

アパートのドアをノックするの
吸血鬼か 政治亡命者か 市
市街劇「ノック」はどのような
劇であるか

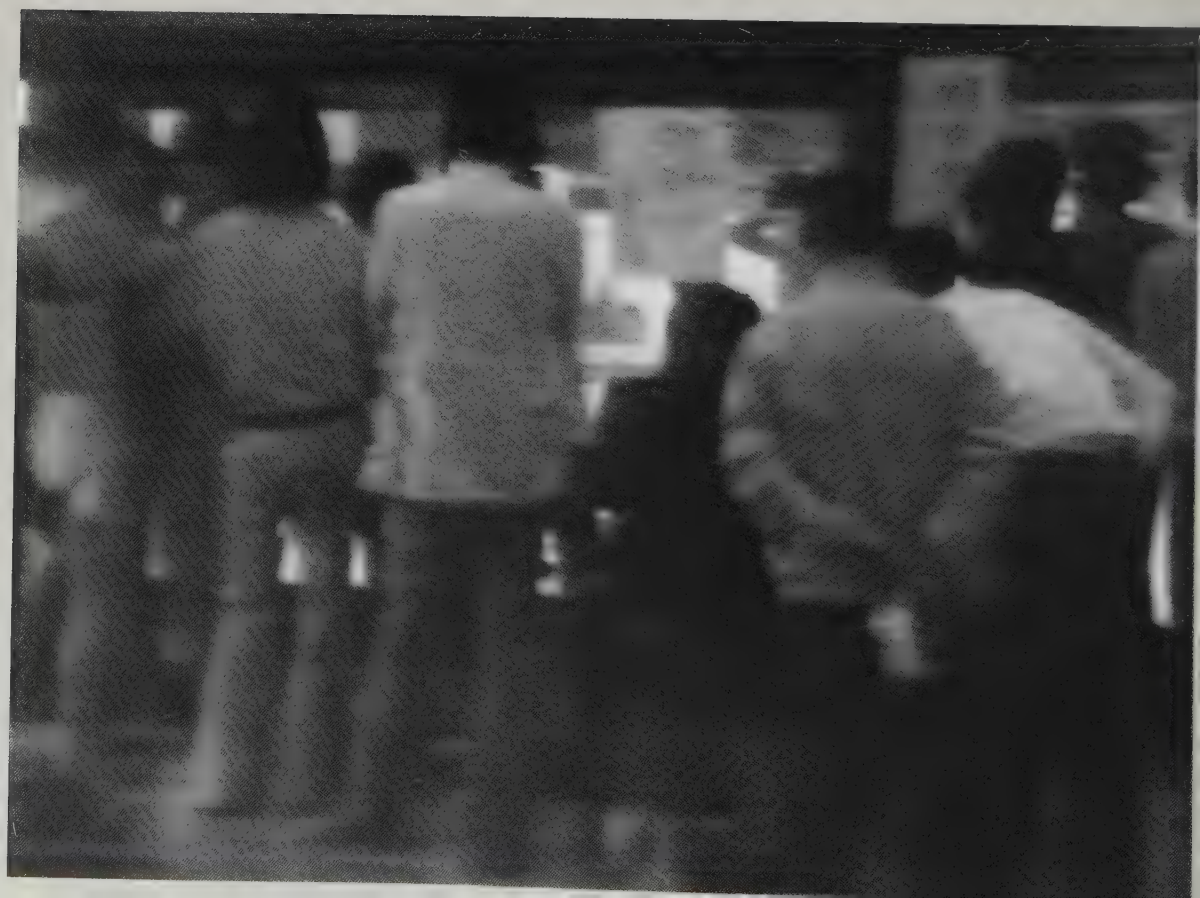
94 – Kawanaka Nobuhiro, Nakaya Fujiko – *30-hour Street Play: Knock* [by Terayama Shūji] – 1975 – Video

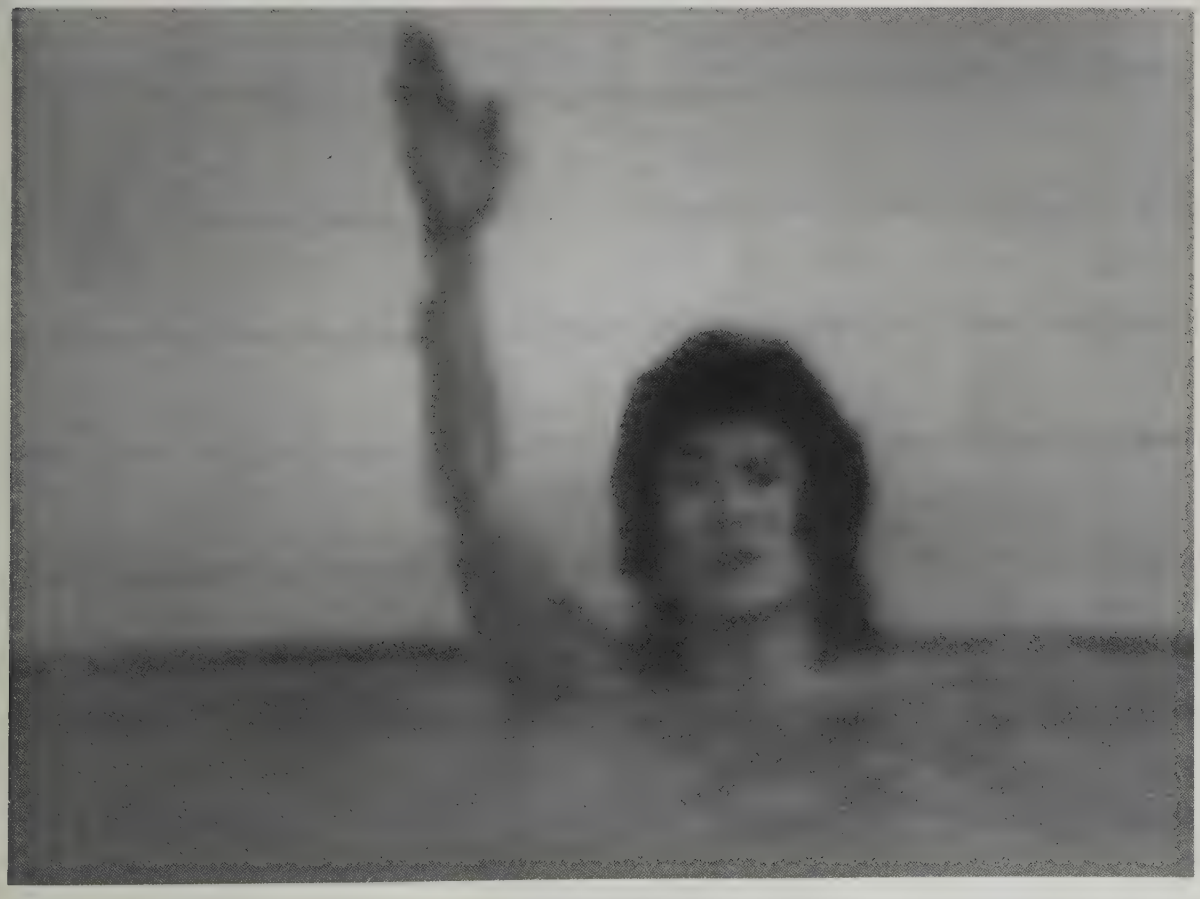






Fried Chicken
ケンタッキー フライド・チキン

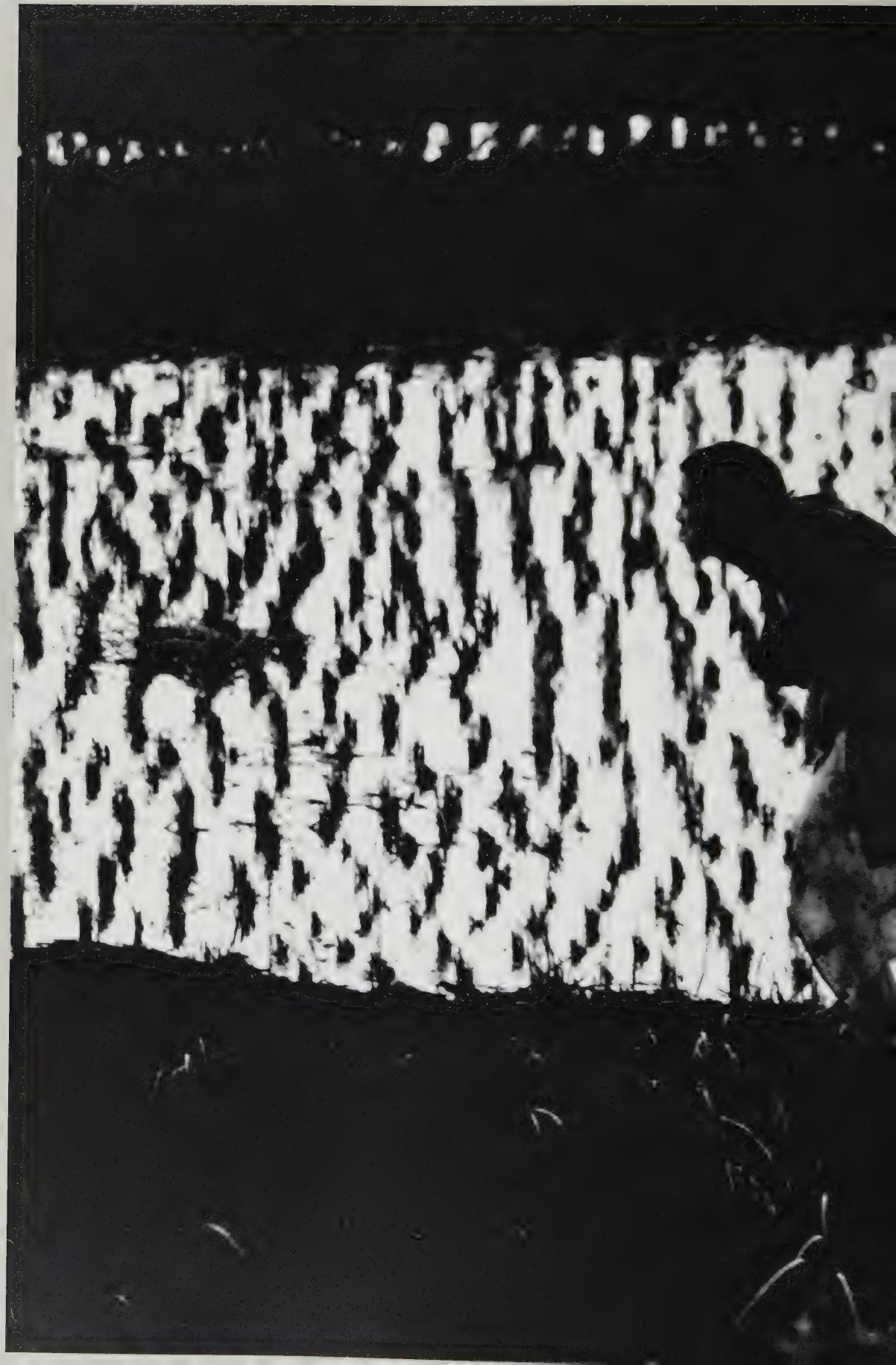


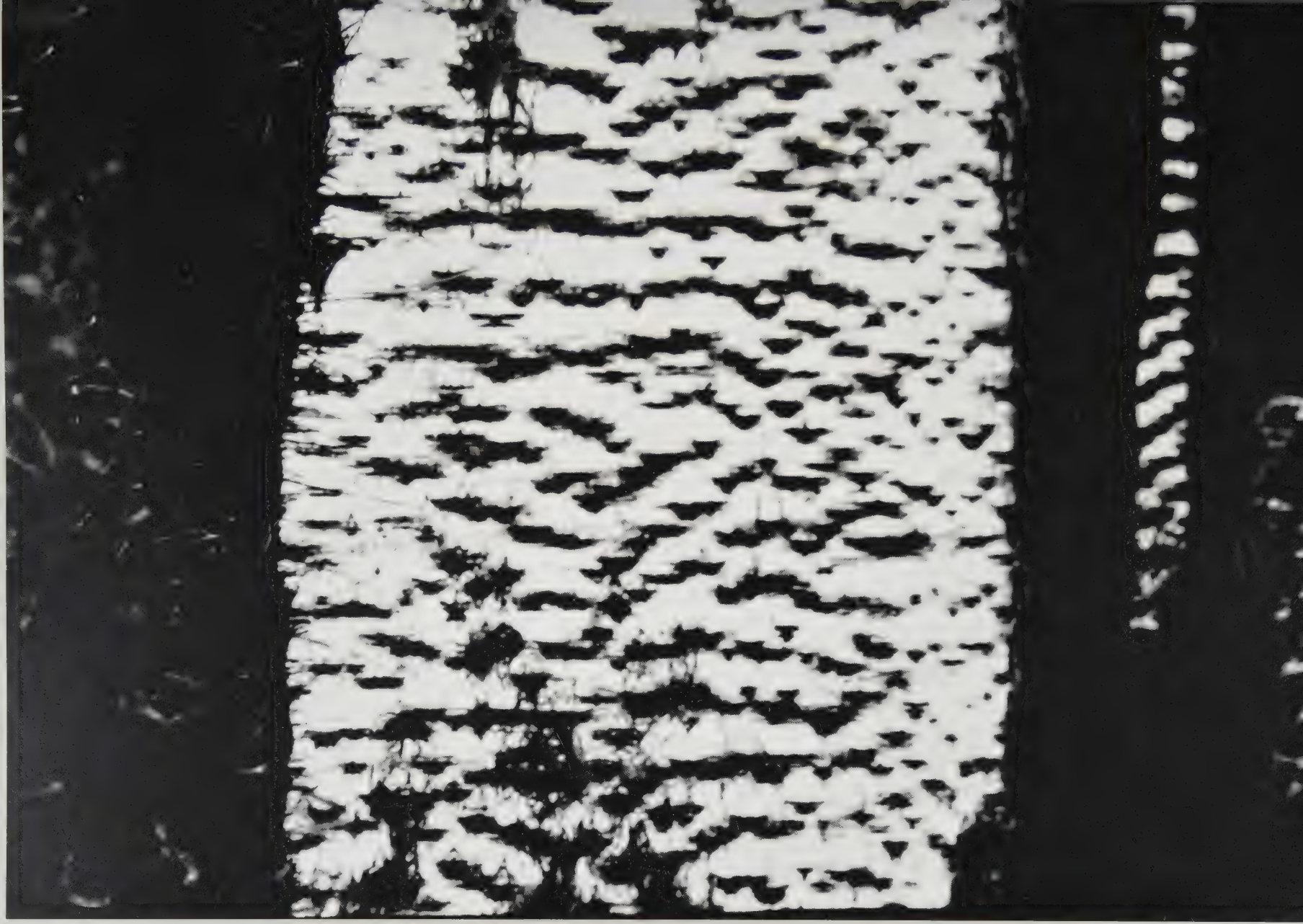


95 – Hosoe Eikō – *Kamaitachi #8* – 1965 – Photograph

96 – Hosoe Eikō – *Kamaitachi #17* – 1965 – Photograph

97 – Hosoe Eikō – *Kamaitachi* #26 – 1965 – Photograph





98 – Hosoe Eikō – *Kamaitachi #35* – 1968 – Photograph

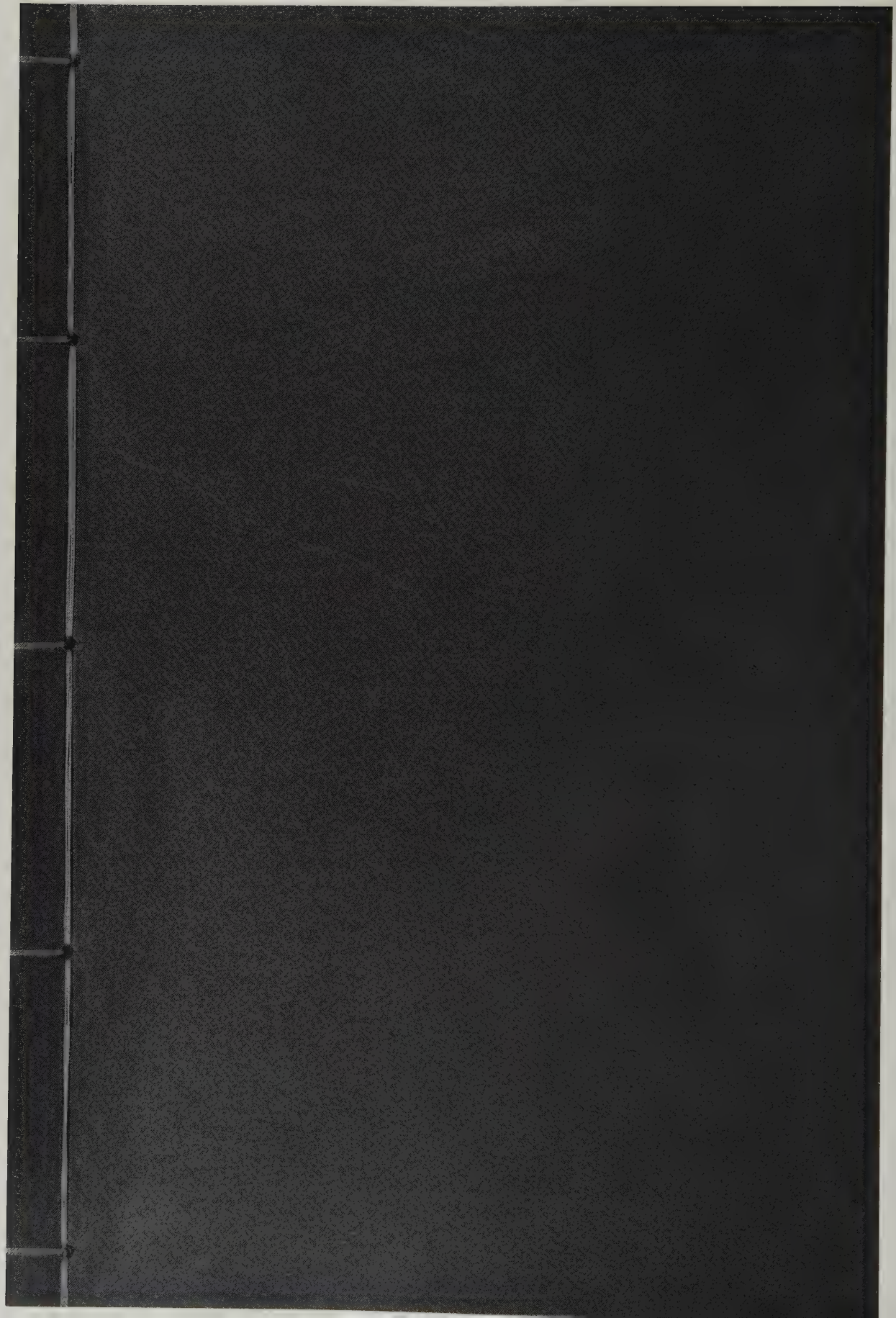
99 – Hosoe Eikō – *Kamaitachi #31* – 1968 – Photograph

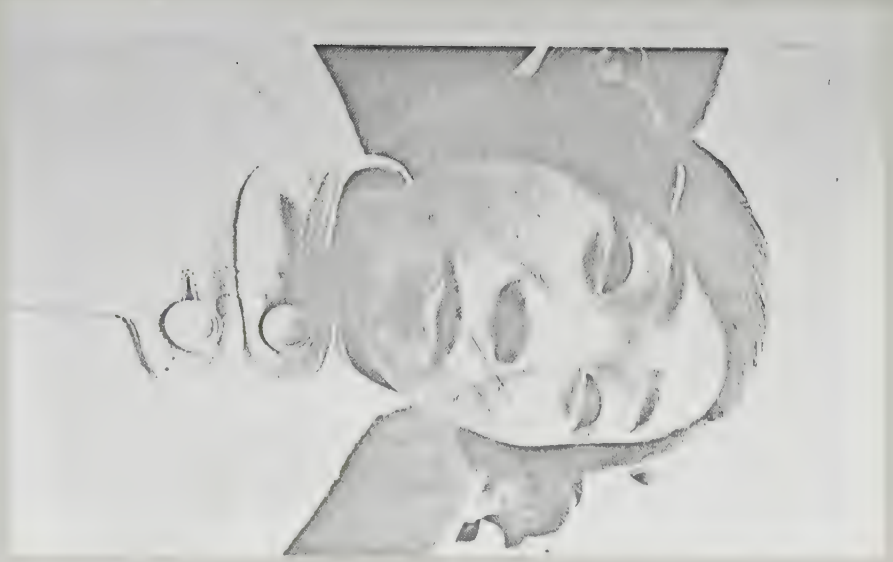
100 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Hijikata Tatsumi* – 1969 – Photograph

101 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Hijikata Tatsumi* – 1969 – Photograph

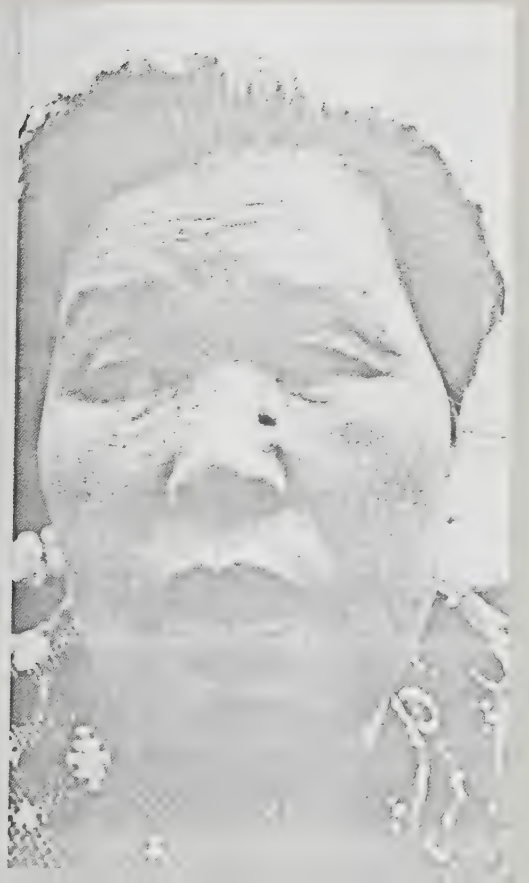
102 – Takanashi Yutaka – *Hijikita Tatsumi* [in] *Now* – 1969 – Magazine

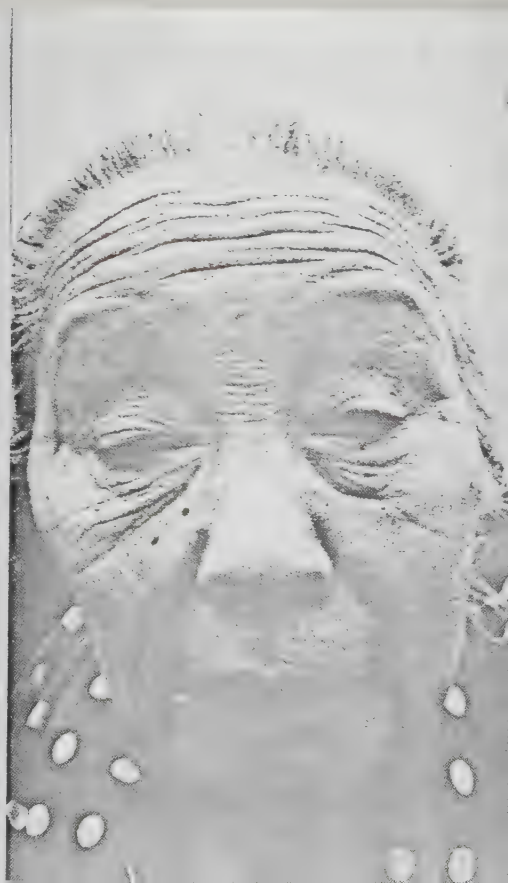
103 – Araki Nobuyoshi – *Untitled* – 1973 – Photograph



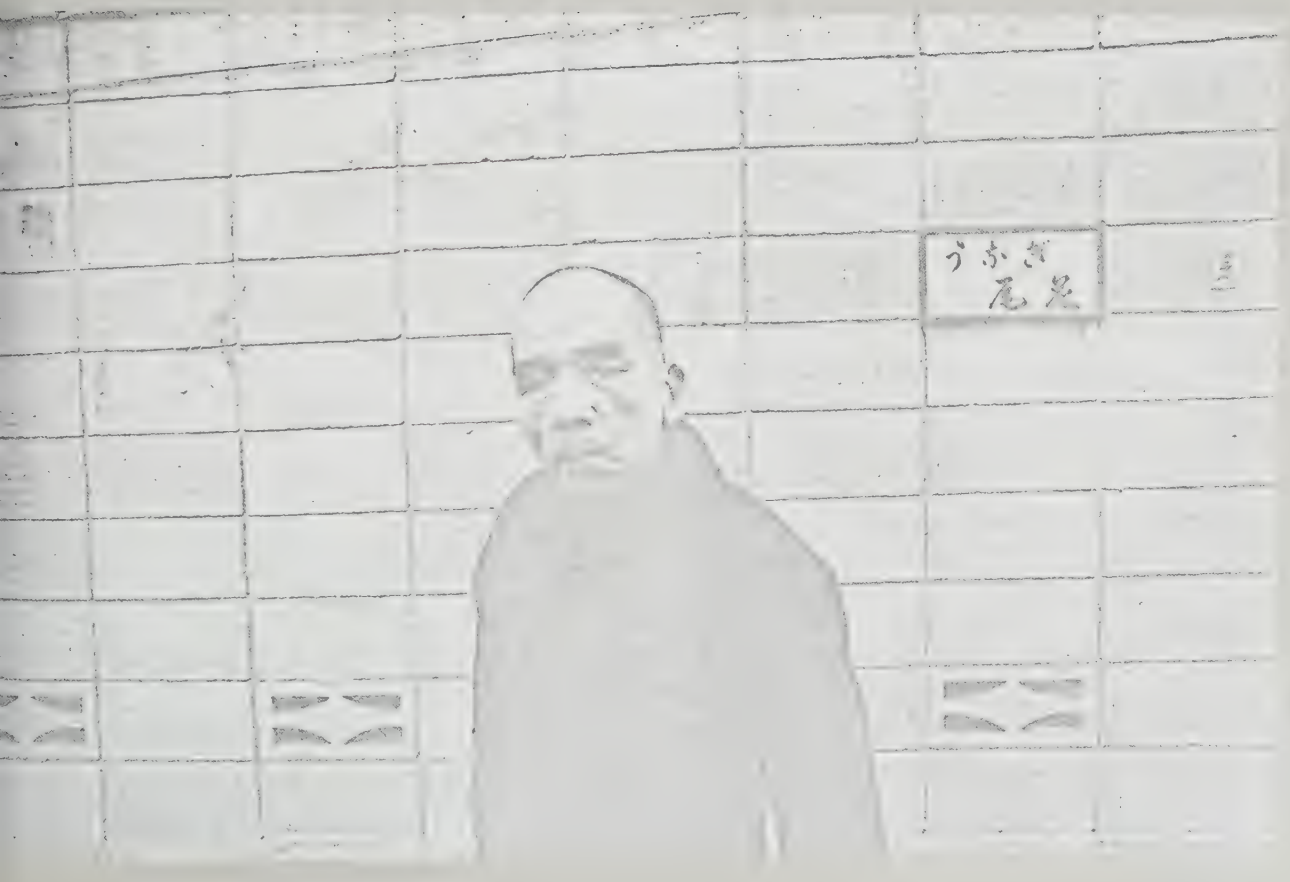


104 – Araki Nobuyoshi – *Xerox Photo Album 1: 70 Faces* – 1970 – Book





105 – Araki Nobuyoshi – *Xerox Photo Album 2: Eisaburō Yaguchi* – 1970 – Book



106 – Araki Nobuyoshi – *Xerox Photo Album 5: Adam & Eve* – 1970 – Book

Araki Nobuyoshi
"Interviews: Purovōku ni shigeki sareta 'hitoridake no nanajūnen anpo'"
(Interviews: My Solitary Protest against the 1970 US-Japan Security Treaty Provoked by *Provoke*)

In 1964, your photo series Satchin *received an award from* Taiyō *magazine. You held several photography exhibitions between then and 1967, all the while working at* [*the advertising firm*] *Dentsu. Then in 1970, you began seriously pursuing a career in photography. In sum, the period when Provoke was active is a blank in your timeline. What were your thoughts on Provoke at the time?*

> At the time I felt kind of jealous toward Provoke, since I really liked what they were doing. They fit really well with what I wanted to do, and even though I didn't really like working in a group, I wanted to join them. But I was an employee of Dentsu. I wasn't qualified to join such an avant-garde movement as an employee of an advertising agency. If I was going to ask if I could join, I thought that I must quit Dentsu. Feeling torn and jealous, I worked alone, taking my own photographs in Dentsu's studios. I was very inspired by Provoke. Although Provoke is not usually discussed in the history of Japanese photography—it was like a giant bomb, made underground and thrown by the radicals. That era was also a very exciting period.

So you were looking at Provoke *as an observer, while preparing for your publication of* Xerox Photo Albums *and the exhibition* The Truth about Carmen Marie*, in 1970.*

> I felt uncertain. I was actually already photographing something, but I fought the urge to disclose it until 1970, when I finally decided to declare my start as a photographer as part of my own 1970 US-Japan Security Treaty protest. So I held the show *Shūrusenchimentarizumu sengen 2 / Karumen Marī no shinsō* [*Sur-Sentimentalism Manifesto No. 2 / The Truth about Carmen Marie*] at the Kunugi Gallery. I was photographing a girl hanging around in Shinjuku, who looked like the popular singer Carmen Maki. At that time I often picked up girls who were bumming around on the streets, brought them into the studios of Dentsu, and photographed them. "Carmen Marie" was about Carmen Pussy,[1] so I couldn't just publish the photographs from the show as they were in a photobook. So I trimmed and modified them. I actually found these recently; my modifications are quite interesting. Here, this photograph could convincingly be a part of *Provoke* right? It sure provokes [*laughs*]. Anyhow, I was very much stimulated by Provoke. But instead of working in a group, I wanted to start my very own 1970 US-Japan Security Treaty protest, so I published *Xerox Photo Albums*, limited edition of seventy copies each.

Around that time, Xeroxed photographs [*by Moriyama Daidō*] *also appeared as works in the third issue of* Provoke*.*

> It boils down to Andy Warhol. I really liked William Klein and Warhol at the time. I was working on a series called *Pecchankōra* [*Squashed Cola*], without knowing that Warhol had already copied me five or ten years before [*laughs*].

It seems like the influence of Klein was also very central to Mr. Nakahira and Mr. Moriyama during that period.

> Yeah, I agree. To be honest, with regard to *Provoke*, I was especially jealous of Mr. Moriyama's love affairs in the second issue. Those blurry photographs taken at love hotels—they were the most outstanding. They captured something from the moment. Because they were blurry, you couldn't tell who the women were, so I later asked Mr. Moriyama, "Why are they blurry?" and he told me that it's a "samurai's mercy." He probably

couldn't disclose the identity of his lover then. I don't actually think that was true, but that was his situation. I like how he doesn't explain. Maybe it's just that I explain too much [*laughs*]. During the same period, I was photographing the faces of middle-aged women, thinking in my head that although Mr. Moriyama's photographs are great, they don't show the faces.

It seems Mr. Moriyama was in the minds of many photographers at that time.

Mr. Moriyama had always been a star. He's an idol—an idol in the context of Provoke and an idol among us. Mr. Moriyama's *Shashin yo sayōnara* (*Farewell Photography*) and Takuma Nakahira's *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* (*For a Language to Come*) are two of my most favorite photobooks.
I reorganize my study room at the end of every year, but these two always occupy a place in my group of ten favorite photobooks that I keep in my study room. Well, recently my own photobooks have quickly filled up all ten spots [*laughs*].

So would you say that you're the most appropriate successor to Provoke?

Yes. I say this all the time, but I think what's great about Provoke is that its members didn't make photographs; they said: these aren't photographs, nor are they complete works. You know the feeling of aspiring to something? That's the best part about photography.
It is the liveliest moment of the creator. I call it "the freshest moment."[3] I bet that if today's youngsters saw *Provoke*, they would start to wonder why the heck they're working with 8 × 10 format film, being all talk and carrying huge cameras. *Provoke* provided farm-fresh delivery or refrigerated delivery services. Well, at that time there was no refrigerated service yet, so it was more like a hot delivery service, though Mr. Takanashi was kind of playing it cool [*laughs*].

Mr. Takanashi was highly stimulated by Mr. Nakahira and Moriyama, so it indeed was a very "hot" time for him.

Yeah, the part that made me jealous was how they were stimulating and influencing each other as rivals. It's a very nice relationship. I could tell that even from observing them.
Mr. Moriyama and Mr. Nakahira would often go to the beach or some island together. Hearing about them, I thought, "Damn, they're doing such exciting things." That's how I felt, but my position prevented me from joining them, since I thought that people whose hands were dirty from working at an advertising agency shouldn't enter somewhere that is pure.
I was also being indecisive, since once I get comfortable, it's hard for me to leave [*laughs*].
Working at Dentsu, I could afford to drink brandy and smoke cigars at clubs in Ginza.

So you were an oddball, who, despite being part of that industry, used guerrilla tactics that were opposed to those of Dentsu. Most photographers became famous through Camera Mainichi*—a central magazine in the photo world at that time—but I think you entered the stage from a whole different place.*

Yeah, exactly. I only started publishing in *Camera Mainichi* after 1970. While all the other photographers who worked in advertising submitted their works to *Camera Mainichi* during the 1960s, I never did. People who worked in advertising had the money, so they could spend a lot of money on their work. The reason I decided that I needed to make some money is because I realized that without money, you couldn't even lie in photographs. If you don't use money to lie, everything real would be captured [*laughs*]. Poverty becomes realism.
It becomes realism, but it cannot capture a sense of reality.

You released a photobook titled O, Nihon (O, Japan) *in 1971. Were you referencing Mr. Tōmatsu?*

Yep. Mr. Tōmatsu had one titled *Oh! Shinjuku*, so I made mine *O, Japan*. That work was a compilation of photographs from *The Truth about Carmen Marie* and various personal photographs taken after the show. Mr. Tōmatsu came to especially to interview me for the magazine *KEN*. I was so happy that he picked me.

And in 1971, you traveled to Okinawa, around the same time as Mr. Tōmatsu and Mr. Nakahira.

Yeah, I was assigned to photograph posters of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] that were put up for the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. It was my first trip abroad, so I brought my passport. All Dentsu employees at that time were asked to photograph posters of the LDP. Actually, I photographed Kōno Yōhei's posters too. He nominated me [*laughs*]. And because I was good at photographing children, I was told to photograph smiling children in Okinawa looking delighted over the reversion of Okinawa. Things like that happened, and I thought this doesn't feel quite right. This is the "official" reason why I quit Dentsu.

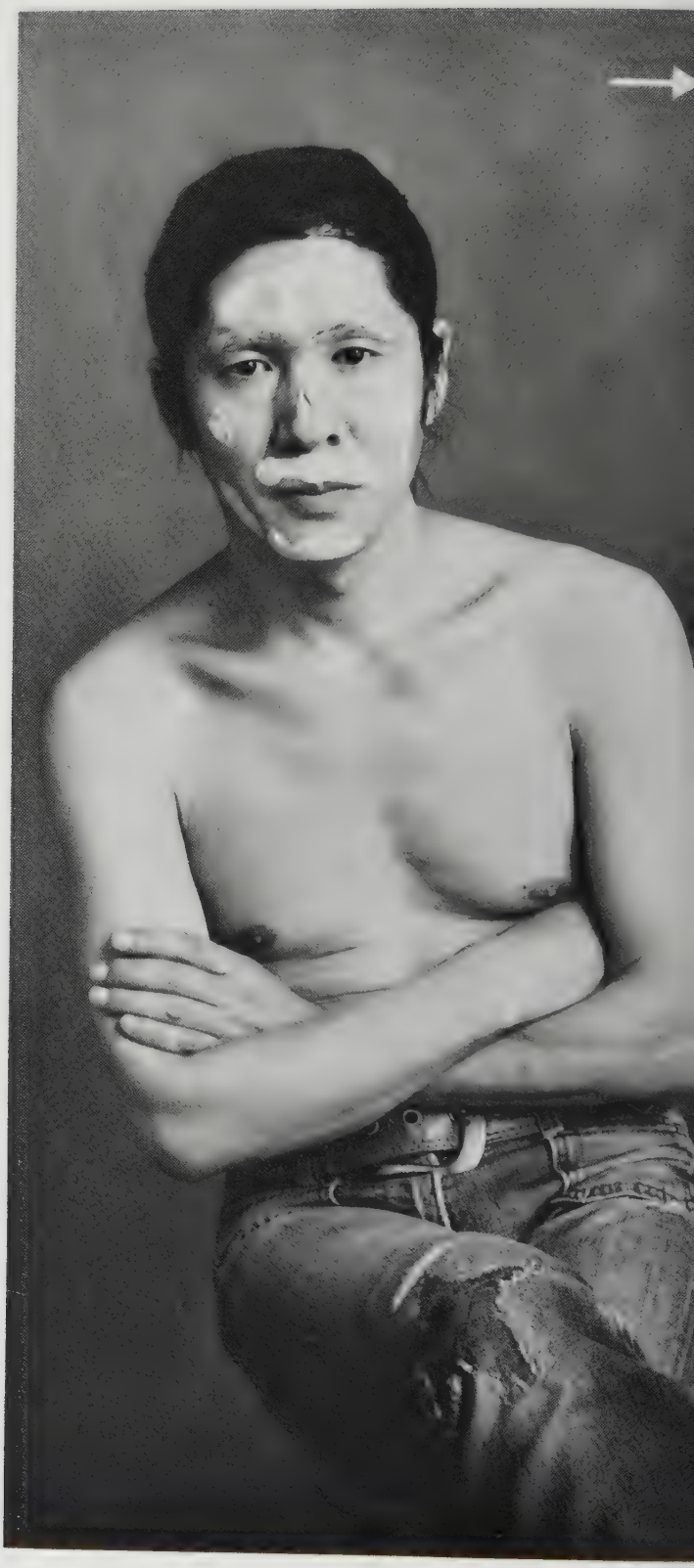
And after you resigned from Dentsu in 1972, you planned Shashin ni tsuite no shashin ten *(*An Exhibition of Photographs about Photography) *with Mr. Taki in 1974.*

Mr. Taki was my curator for a group exhibition held in the same year, at the National Museum of Modern Art. As I consulted with him on various matters, we really hit it off with each other, and decided to do something together. We decided on *An Exhibition of Photographs about Photography* because we were always thinking about photography at that time. Everyone was like that during the era of Provoke. We were all high-spirited. That period was full of photography freaks. Unlike today, many people thought photography was the best, and they thought of the camera as a weapon. Meanwhile, I thought of the camera as the genitals [*laughs*]. That made me a bit different.

***Déjà-vu* 14 (1993): 86–88. Translated by Sandy Lin.**

1 – Araki is probably playing with the words *marī* (Marie) and *manko* (pussy) since their first characters are the same.
3 – Araki is punning on the term *shunkan* (moment) and *shun* (in season).

108 – Tōmatsu Shōmei – *The Great Transformation of Moriyama Daidō – Workshop No. 5* – 1975 – Magazine



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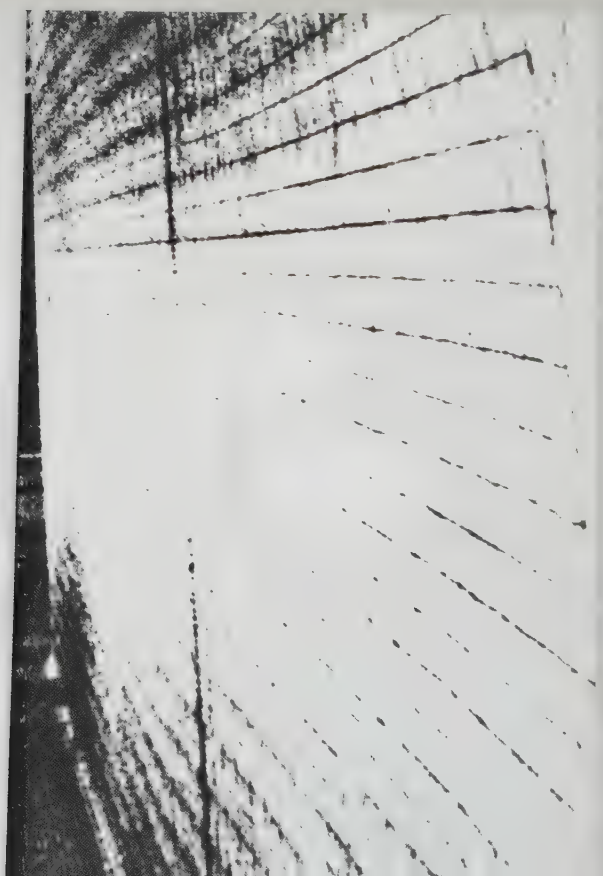
五人組写真集

REVOLUTION

五人組写真集編集委員会

東京

109 – Group of Five – *Revolution* – 1972 – Book



110 – Takamatsu Jirō – *Photograph* – 1973 – Photograph

111 – Takamatsu Jirō – *Photograph* – 1973 – Photograph

112 – Takamatsu Jirō – *Photograph* – 1973 – Photograph

113 – Takamatsu Jirō – *Photograph* – 1973 – Photograph

114 – Takamatsu Jirō – *Photograph* – 1973 – Photograph

115 – Enokura Kōji – *Symptom / Floor, Hand [P. W. No. 51]* – 1974 – Photograph

116 – Enokura Kōji – P.W. No. 48 – 1972 – Photograph

順路

117 – Enokura Kōji – *Symptom/Column, Body (P. W. No. 511* – 1972 – Photograph

Enokura Kōji

"'Shashin to āto' = watashino baai. Naniga kamera ni utsuruka – toriaezu sonokotoga mondai" (Photography and Art in My Case. What Is Shot by the Camera? That Is the Question for Now)

When we look at objects under the ordinary conditions of everyday life, we do not possess the capabilities to capture their essence. Objects continue to exist as objects, and bodies continue to exist as bodies. This relationship between *the object and the body* can be iterated perpetually. When we look at a room and recognize it as a "room," the state of that room becomes a standard part of our consciousness. However, before that consciousness is formed so we can recognize the "room," our bodies confront all the conditions regarding the room itself and its surroundings. At that moment of contact, a *rough* texture is generated, which tickles our consciousness and leads to our awareness of the room. Conversely, when we start to reject this *rough* contact between our awareness of the "room" and our bodies, all objects, amid a world of tension between bodies and objects, will start to have the same value. Things with which our vision comes into contact when we are walking outside on ordinary days—utility poles, sidewalks, railroads, puddles, and the sky—along with objects that we see in our rooms—desks, chairs, windows, ashtrays, cups, and magazines—are all placed perfectly in our everyday lives. Made out of glass, wood, and metal, these objects all possess a neutral *sound* and remain still. No matter how many times you change their positions, they remain static, always existing in the perfect condition.

The tension, as described by [Jean-Marie] Le Clézio, that arises from the contact between matter and the body is not based on a vision that presupposes the superiority of humanity over matter. Rather, ordinary objects engulf our bodies, and our bodies become completely absorbed in them; this is the most fundamental interaction between bodies and objects. Yet our bodies tend to weaken or amplify this tension by involving the subjective self and our subjective illusions, dragging this tension into the world of our subjectivities. As a result, the quality of the tension present at this first moment of contact with the object is completely transformed. Similarly, to see and photograph an object through the camera's viewfinder is to dominate that object by using the camera as a machine. It is to feel a certain tension in an object and to entangle that tension in our own subjectivity. However, the tension we felt during our initial contact with the object is transformed on its own. The image shown in the viewfinder and the tension generated from direct contact with the object are entirely different in nature. This is precisely because the eyes that look through the viewfinder belong to the human body, while the photograph is an image seen through the camera's eyes. The human eye can never maintain that fundamental tension with its subject matter. For instance, when we look at a drinking glass, our attention is often drawn to the fact that it is made of glass. We may also be reminded of a bigger world through its transparency. Moreover, humans can be conscious of being in absolute *darkness* by being conscious of the feelings of *darkness* and realizing that they cannot visually observe (the human equivalent of the camera mechanism). Humans can thus capture *darkness*. Meanwhile, to a camera, *darkness* just means the impossibility of taking an image. One comforting benefit of the camera mechanism as an optical machine is that it rescues us from our swelling, vulgar emotions. I take photographs for no other reason than to experience the tension that exists between objects and myself, using the camera—the optical machine—as a mediator. In other words, I don't press the shutter because it is a means to perceive, nor am I driven by an impulse to shoot. Rather, I try my best to press the shutter amid the tension between the objects and myself. When I look at objects, the camera comes into contact with the objects as well. Thus, what the camera shows is more important to me than what I choose to photograph. I wish to treat the viewfinder as part of the camera and present what it shows as a unique space in its raw state. By doing so, I reject enlarging the world seen through the viewfinder with unrestricted interpretations; I thereby seek to liberate the camera's viewfinder from the human eye.

***Bijutsu techō* 356, June 1972: 89-91. Translated by Sandy Lin.**

119 – Enokura Kōji – *Symptom / Lump of Lead into Space I/P W No. 411* – 1972 – Photograph

IMAGES OF MASTURBATION, DEFECATION, FILTH, AND SHAME: HIJIKATA TATSUMI AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Walter Moser

> *I saw a madman in white with his hand on his erect penis in the middle of a dimly lit room that reminds you of a* zashikiro*, and a man with a strained face defecating in a rice paddy road, and a man with his face buried between the spread legs of a woman. These were images of masturbation, defecation, filth, and shame that were filled with madness and a foreboding sense of death, and one could go so far as to say it was downright ugly.*[1]

With these words Nakahira Takuma described an exhibition of photographs of the *butoh* dancer Hijikata Tatsumi, a central figure of postwar Japanese art, who, through his novel interpretation of the human body, would radically broaden the scope of classical Japanese dance beginning in the late 1950s.[2] Influenced by the writings of Jean Genet, depictions of the body in the works of the French surrealists, and traditional Japanese theater, Hijikata developed the notion of a body defined in defiance of social norms. In performances such as *Kinjiki* (*Forbidden Colors*, 1959), *Anma* (*The Masseurs*, 1963), and *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: nikutai no hanran* (*Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese: Rebellion of the Body*, 1968), all staged against a backdrop of social and political turmoil and alongside the advent of performance art, he used this new corporeality to tackle taboos such as death and sexuality. The body in Hijikata's work did not represent a transcendent narrative, nor did it follow a choreography. Reflectively referencing its own materiality, it rather gave centrality to the "experience." The dance called *ankoku butō* rendered the body grotesque and bizarre, as expressed in the crooked, bow-legged, deformed postures inspired by the movements of polio sufferers. The language that Nakahira uses to characterize Hijikata's "antibody" is as negatively charged—"ugly," "filth," and "madness"—as it is apposite.

Nakahira's description of Hijikata rests, importantly, not on an actual performance, but rather on photographic representations of his performances. In fact his words relate to *Totetsumonaku higekiteki na kigeki: nihon no butōka, tensai (Hijikata Tatsumi) shūen shashin gekijō* (*An Extravagantly Tragic Comedy: Photo Theater Starring a Dancer and Genius from Japan [Hijikata Tatsumi]*), a photography exhibition held in 1968 as part of Hosoe Eikō's *Kamaitachi* series, for which Hijikata was the model. *Kamaitachi* is probably the most persuasive example of the profound mutual influence between Hijikata's *butoh* and photography. Their cross-pollination began with his first performance, *Forbidden Colors* (1959), and reached its zenith in the late 1960s. Hijikata was a subject for numerous photographers, the best known of whom were Fukase Masahisa, Hosoe, Ishiguro Kenji, William Klein, Nakatani Tadao, Takanashi Yutaka, and Tōmatsu Shōmei. Their various images all verged on the performative, yet they differ considerably in function and meaning.[3] While some photographs involve actions performed specifically for the camera, others show reconstructions of live performances that also take account of the photographer's gaze. Photography played a crucial role in the development of dance. *Butoh,* however, incorporated a reflection on photography that could be termed a "remediatization" of dance. Moreover, the artistic concepts made possible through Hijikata's actions were anchored in the photographic discourse of postwar Japan. Hijikata and photography, the body and its image, and, not least, performative expression and performative medium are all interrelated. It is this complex of relationships that will be examined here.

Like the artists involved in happenings and body art, Hijikata relied on photography to record his performances. Ephemeral actions had to be fixed to enable their wider or later reception. Most photographs of Hijikata served this basic purpose. They prove that the performance took place and reproduce fragmentary aspects of it. While the dancer may have viewed such transmission of his performances with skepticism, as Stephen Barber has argued,[4] the large number of photographs of Hijikata alone attests to his utilization of the medium. Hijikata, moreover, seems to have viewed photography positively, as he expressed in conversation with the illustrator Uno Akira: "So, I like being photographed. The other day too, I came home from a photo shoot feeling grateful for the experience. This year, Mishima Yukio and I are going to

1 – Nakahira Takuma, "Komedi kyōki no bigaku no paradokusu: Hosoe Eikō ten 'Totetsumonaku higekiteki na kigeki'" [The Paradox of a Mad Aesthetic: Hosoe Eikō's Photo Exhibition "Extravagantly Tragic"], *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (April 15, 1968): 26–27. Translated by Imai Mihoko. (A *zashikiro* is a kind of cage in which the wealthy kept mentally sick family members locked up).

2 – On Hijikata and *butoh*, see Bruce Baird, *Hijikata Tatsumi and Butoh: Dancing in a Pool of Gray Grits* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Susan Blakely Klein, *Ankoku Butō: The Premodern and Postmodern Influences on the Dance of Utter Darkness* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University Press, 1988); Kurihara Nanako, *The Most Remote Thing in the Universe: Critical Analysis of Hijikata Tatsumi's butoh Dance* (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1996). Unless stated otherwise, the descriptions of Hijikata Tatsumi's *butoh* are drawn from these sources.

3 – Philip Auslander has studied the relationship between performance and photography refuting the classical distinction between conventional (documentary) photography and the (theatrical) images made of performances staged specifically for the photographer. Auslander argues that photographs can themselves be performances and are not tied to a live audience, which is the idea pursued in this essay. See Philip Auslander, "The Performativity of Performance Documentation," in *Perform, Repeat, Record: Live Art in History*, eds. Amelia Jones and Adrian Heathfield (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2012), 47–58.

4 – Stephen Barber, *Hijikata: Revolt of the Body* (Washington: Solar Books, 2010), 48.

be awarded the 'Model Prize' from the Japan Professional Photographers Society. If told to be still, we'll do that and wait, like a child under a spell. Photographers teach you the joy of just being put there."[5] Photographers who worked with Hijikata, from Takanashi and Ishiguro to Hosoe and Klein, report that he was very interested in being photographed and behaved cooperatively at their photo shoots.[6] It seems probable that the dancer himself thought categorically about photography; he certainly pondered the impact of the photographer's gaze and subjectivity on images of his performances. When the dancer Ohno Yoshito, son of fellow dancer Ohno Kazuo, needed a portrait of himself to announce a forthcoming performance, Hijikata advised him to engage Fukase rather than Hosoe, as the latter had become too closely tied to Hijikata.[7] Hijikata's affirmation of photography and reflections on the medium are visible in his own long-standing collaboration with photographers.

Bodies—Images: Nakatani Tadao

The photographer Nakatani Tadao captured Hijikata's stage performances over several years and maintained close ties to the latter's dance studio, the *Asubesutokan* (*Asbestos Hall*), even installing his own photo studio there for a while.[8] Nakatani's compositional techniques enabled him to draw out the corporeal expressiveness of Hijikata's dance. This is most clearly visible in his photographs of the groundbreaking performance *Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese: Rebellion of the Body* in 1968. The work developed in several stages, in the course of which Hijikata, clad in a white bridal kimono, was carried onto the stage in a kind of procession; danced naked with a gilded erect phallus; donned dresses in which he proceeded to perform flamenco-style movements; and finally, tied to a rope, soared upward in a kind of apotheosis.

Rebellion of the Body is regarded by scholars as a turning point, after which Hijikata became preoccupied with his rural origins and Japanese identity. But the performance also marked the culmination of specific aspects of his earlier works, including his parading of (homo-)sexuality, which from *Forbidden Colors* onwards remained a pivotal element of his work and would take his body to its physical limits. The libidinous body served the dancer as a vehicle for subversive acts through which he breathed new life into dance norms, while at the same time expressing a critique of contemporary society. Hijikata's performances developed against the backdrop of Japan's postwar political upheavals: *Forbidden Colors* dates from 1959, when millions of Japanese rose up in protest against the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (Anpo) between Japan and the United States, while *Rebellion of the Body* coincided with the nationwide student revolt of 1968. In both cases, political discourse manifested itself in the body.

Hijikata's understanding of the body, his "antibody," is also a reaction to the norming of the body expressed in standardized dance forms like flamenco and the jazz imported by the American occupier. This norming, furthermore, is an inevitable outcome of the relentless rise of consumerism, political repression, and the commercialization of sexuality. Hijikata himself formulated this critique in a much-quoted statement:

> *All the power of civilized morality, hand in hand with the capitalist economic system and its political institutions, is utterly opposed to using the body simply for the purpose, means, or tool of pleasure. Still more, to a production-oriented society, the aimless use of the body, which I call dance, is a deadly enemy which must be taboo. I am able to say that my dance shares a common basis with crime, male homosexuality, festivals, and rituals because it is a behavior that explicitly flaunts its aimlessness in the face of a production-oriented society. In this sense my dance, based on human self-activation, including male homosexuality, crime and a naive battle with nature, can naturally be a protest against the "alienation of labor" in capitalist society.*[9]

The strategy of linking the libidinous body to social, political, and formal-aesthetic discourse is certainly not peculiar to Hijikata, as the films of Terayama Shūji, Oshima Nagisa, and Wakamatsu Kōji—to name just a few examples—show. A year after *Rebellion of the Body*, it also informed the second issue of *Provoke* magazine, which was devoted to the theme of Eros. The images reproduced there, among them Moriyama Daidō's highly unconventional and formally daring shots

5 – Quoted in Hijikata Tatsumi, *Hijikata Tatsumi zenshū* [The *Collected Works of Hijikata Tatsumi*], Vol. 2. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2005), 52–53. Translated by Imai Mihoko.
6 – William Klein and Hosoe Eikō, interviews with the author, July 2 and March 17, 2015, respectively; author's questions for Sawada Yoko, interviews with Takanashi Yutaka and Ishiguro Kenji, July 6 and August 25, 2015, respectively.
7 – Author's questions for Sawada Yoko, interview with Ohno Yoshito, August 28, 2015.
8 – Maro Akaji, "Yōki tadayou shūnen" [Unearthly Obsession] in *Hijikata Tatsumi no butō sekai – Nakatani Tadao shashinshū* [*World of Tatsumi Hijikata, the Originator of Butoh. Nakatani Tadao, a Collection of Dance Photographs*] (Tokyo: Media Purodakushon, 2003), 70.
9 – Hijikata Tatsumi, "Keimusho e" [To Prison], in *The Drama Review* 44, No. 1 (2000): 44–45.

Fig. 1 – Nakatani Tadao
Hijikata Tatsumi, Dancing Girl of "Rebellion of the Body," 1969.
Tokyo, Keio University Art Center.

of a sex act, were paired—albeit somewhat loosely and largely by association—with texts that asserted a link between sexuality and Marxist theories of repression.

Nakatani's photos of *Rebellion of the Body* visualize the characteristics of Hijikata's specific conception of the body. While conventional performance photographs show the performer within a larger event, including the stage and even the audience, Nakatani focuses exclusively on Hijikata. He uses high-contrast stage lighting to isolate the performer from the surrounding space and to draw out the physical expressiveness of the dance. Nakatani's concentration on the body, in mostly frontal views, brings forth Hijikata's theatrical display of sexuality. The photographs, in other words, are shaped by Nakatani's understanding of Hijikata's artistic strivings—presumably matching those of the dancer himself, as he photographed Hijikata on numerous occasions and likely obtained his consent. In this respect, the images are not unlike Hirata Minoru's pictures of the performances of the artist collective Hi Red Center (plates 85–88)[10] and Hanaga Mitsutoshi's shots of Zero Jigen (Zero Group), which likewise subordinate the photographers' gazes to the performers' onstage actions. Nakatani's photographs probably took Hijikata's visual aspirations into account. The dancer himself is known to have thought in pictures and to have conceived specific elements of his performances so that they would lend themselves to being photographed. This is not surprising given his understanding of the fine arts.

Hijikata's performances are indeed steeped in art.[11] In *Barairo dansu* (*Rose-Colored Dance*, 1965), for example, he collaborated with the designer Yokoo Tadanori, who designed the poster, and with Nakanishi Natsuyuki, a founding member of Hi Red Center, who was responsible for the set. The dancer borrowed his conception from classical painting, as is evident from his "scrapbooks," which contain reproductions and handwritten commentary on paintings by Egon Schiele and Francis Bacon, among others. In her analysis of *butoh,* Lucia Schwellinger concludes that the fine arts certainly influenced Hijikata's movements and actions onstage.[12] His particular style of *butoh,* she argues, emphasized motionlessness and collapsed space, such that Hijikata often presented a frontal view of himself to his audiences. The resulting absence of depth derives from Hijikata's engagement with painting and drawing, argues Schwellinger, and specifically his practice of appropriating non-perspectival compositions and figural outlines.[13]

This cross-media relationship shapes many of Nakatani's photographs. One good example of this is an image of the dancer in dresses during *Rebellion of the Body* (fig. 1) that makes clear how he aligned himself with the photographer, presenting Nakatani with a frontal view of his body as the audience perspective. Following Schwellinger, it could be said that Hijikata adopted a frontal position vis-à-vis the photographer and, by doing so, presented an image of the body that was flat and two-dimensional even on stage, so that Nakatani had only to replicate what he saw with his own eyes. That the dancer made a point of turning to face the photographer during his performance is evident from the way we see him looking straight into the camera. Testimony from other photographers confirms that Hijikata was attentive to the look of his performances in photographs, even as he performed, and that he planned for the photography from the start. In a text published in 1986 in the magazine *Bijutsu techō* (*Art Notes*), Hanaga, who photographed artist groups such as Hi Red Center but also performances by Hijikata, explicitly draws attention to this aspect. He describes how Hijikata angrily accosted him after a performance and demanded to know why he had failed to respond to his instructions—he had, after all, danced toward Hanaga and even gestured to him to shoot.[14] In actions staged exclusively for the photographer's benefit, striking a balance between the photographer's gaze and what the dancer himself wanted to see turned out to be a fraught exercise.

Photography as Self-Portrait: Takanashi Yutaka

Staging performances for photographers implies that Hijikata paid special attention to the images that his dance created on such occasions. Hijikata thought about how he wanted to be photographed and chose his costume with the shoot in mind.[15] Takanashi later described that, as a model, the dancer was anything but passive, and tried to realize his own ideas about photography. In 1959, when Takanashi was assistant to the photographer Ōtsuji Kiyoji, he accompanied Ōtsuji to shoots of Hijikata and Ohno Yoshito during the rehearsals for *Forbidden Colors*. The results appeared in the magazine *Geijutsu shinchō* (*New Currents in Art*).[16] Ten years later, as the

10 – See Hirata Minoru, *Chōgeijutsu: zen'ei bijutsukatachi no sokuseki 1963–1969* [*Art in Action, 1963–1969: 1960s Avant-Garde Works and Profiles of Young Japanese Artists*] (Tokyo: Sangokan, 2005).
11 – See Morishita Takashi and Yamazaki Yoko, eds., *Bijutsu to butō no Hijikata Tatsumi ten* [*Hijikata Tatsumi Exhibition: Art and Butoh*] (Ito: Ikeda Museum of 20th Century Art, 1997).
12 – Lucia Schwellinger, "Die Entstehung des Butoh – Voraussetzung und Techniken der Bewegungsgestaltung bei Hijikata Tatsumi und Ōno Kazuo" (dissertation, University of Munich, 1998), 132–35 and 188.
13 – Ibid., 134–35.
14 – Hanaga Mitsutoshi, "Tenjō no dogou" [Shouting Heard from the Ceiling], *Bijutsu techō* (May 1986): 62.
15 – Ohno, interview.
16 – Ōtsuji Kiyoji's photographs were published with a text by Mishima Yukio, "Gendai no muma: 'Kinjiki' wo odoru zenei buyoudan" [The Modern Nightmare: An Avant-Garde Dance Troupe Performs "Kinjiki"], *Geijutsu shinchō* (September 1959): 128–31.

second and third issues of *Provoke* were being published, Takanashi photographed improvised performances staged for him by Hijikata for the men's magazine *Now.*[17] He recently recalled that Hijikata liked to be photographed, describing him as a man with authorial aspirations who seized the initiative whenever possible and forced photographers to follow his own stage directions without ever actually saying as much. The dancer, in other words, made the photographers his accomplices, instrumentalizing them as the means by which his work would be rendered permanent.[18] Takanashi's images, however, bear the authorial signature of both performer and photographer.

Hijikata defined the settings for the shots, which he selected according to their congruence with the content of his work. Pictures taken at a bar run by Hijikata's wife Motofuji Akiko in the Roppongi district of Tokyo, in a chicken-coop, and at Haneda Airport (plates 100 – 102) all served to link his performances to the protest movement. Haneda Airport, for example, held a heavy symbolic charge as the scene of violent clashes between activists and police in October and November 1967. The two demonstrations held there, with the aim of preventing Prime Minister Satō Eisaku from boarding flights to Saigon and the United States, count among the key events of those troubled times.[19]

Hijikata chose to have himself photographed on the border between two distinct zones, one where cameras are permitted and one where they are prohibited.[20] The image by Takanashi can thus be interpreted as symbolizing Hijikata's self-positioning in the context of the protest movement. The politically explosive potential of his own body was exposed that same year in a photo by Fukase that shows the dancer with a group of uniformed riot police; his individual, subversive body is contrasted with the standardized, officially controlled bodies of the organs of state. The same subversive tenor informs a photograph by Takanashi showing Hijikata in a bar with mirrored walls, using pose and costume to invest his own body with female connotations. The picture attests to Hijikata's growing interest in the female body and his concomitant move away from male (hetero)sexuality, a shift that first became apparent in *Rebellion of the Body*. Dance theorists explain that with this "feminine turn," Hijikata memorialized his deceased sister, "embodying" her in performances and thereby transforming his own body and movements. Such a shift casts doubt on the traditional understanding of gender identity and in this respect is of a piece with Hijikata's "antibody." Homosexuality, another means to enact gendered role play, was marginalized and, served as a further vehicle of social confrontation. This is the theme of the third image, in which Hijikata appears half-naked in a chicken coop. The chicken, a recurring motif in his performances, is generally interpreted as a figure for ceremonial ritual. After *Forbidden Colors* it had sexual connotations, too. The performance, which was based on Mishima Yukio's novel of the same name describing the manipulation of a young homosexual by an older man, culminated in a chicken—symbolizing homosexual coupling—being almost thrust between Ohno Yoshito's thighs in a gesture as provocative as it was media-savvy.

Takanashi regarded his photographs of Hijikata as commercial work, even if they pertain to his art career.[21] The dividing line between autonomous and commercial projects is in fact permeable, for his pictures of Hijikata resemble those made at the time and gathered a few years later in his great book-statement, *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*, 1974). The dancer outdoors matches Takanashi's interest in depicting Tokyo's inhabitants as participants in enormous societal and urban transformations; but it is also of a piece with the spontaneous, expressive idiom of contemporary photography such as that published in *Provoke*. Thus Takanashi translates Hijikata's body image by means of a gaze that clearly expresses the dancer's performative qualities. In the chicken-coop photograph, for example, he freezes Hijikata's body in mid-sequence to capture its maximum dynamism. Takanashi heightened that dynamism by habitually tipping the camera in order to get away from classical central perspective, with its faraway vanishing points and stable foregrounds. The body in these photographs evokes the same performativity that it embodied in front of the camera. Works by other photographers also concentrated on the performative dimensions of sexuality and protest, among them Tōmatsu Shōmei's photo book *Oh! Shinjuku* (1969), which alternates images of a *butoh* dancer couple making love with shots of demonstrating students. Takanashi's photographs, however, tell us less about any clearly legible (political) iconography, which Hijikata left open in his performances, than about the artist's self-image. The

17 – Takanashi Yutaka's photographs were published with a text by Tanemura Suehiro, "Hijikata Tatsumi shō: doku ni nurikomerareta nikutai no kagayaki ni tsuite" [In Praise of Hijikata Tatsumi: About the Radiance of a Body Completely Painted in Poison], *Now*, no. 4 (1969): 112–17.
18 – Takanashi, interview.
19 – William Marotti, "Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and Theater of Protest," *American Historical Review* 114, No. 1 (Februar 2009): 91–135; Ando Takemasa, *Japan's New Left Movements: Legacies for Civil Society* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 56–61.
20 – Takanashi, interview.
21 – Takanashi, interview. Takanashi published the photograph showing Hijikata at Haneda Airport in 1979 in hi book *Jinzō* [*Statues of Men*] (Tokyo, 1979), which brings together portraits of artists such as Mishima Yukio.

Fig. 2 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Tatsumi Hijikata Walking in the Pedestrian Precinct, 1970.

Fig. 3 – Fuji Kōji
Photo shoot for *Kamaitachi*, Hijikata Tatsumi and Hosoe Eikō, 1965. Tokyo, Keio University Art Center.

pictures are so charged with symbolic significance that they exceed any content connected to current affairs; they can be interpreted as *"allégories réelles"* [22] of Hijikata's understanding of art.

Tōmatsu used the symbolic potency of Hijikata's performances to augment his own stance of defiance. Thus he photographed the dancer during a 1970 performance about pollution caused by economic growth in the Tokyo district of Shinjuku (fig. 2). The frontal view of Hijikata with his head bowed and hands pressed to his face, carrying a tree on his back, brings the richly associative content of Hijikata's performance to the fore. Tōmatsu used the image in an article published in *Camera Mainichi* in 1970, in which he lambasted Japan for its destruction of the natural world.[23] By placing this image of Hijikata's performance alongside his photographs of ravaged landscapes, he contextualized it and invested it with an unequivocal political message.

Photography as Performance: Hosoe Eikō

Hosoe's *Kamaitachi* series, begun in 1965, played a pivotal role in the photographic translation of Hijikata's performances, while allowing Hosoe to realize his own artistic concept through the dancer as medium (fig. 3). Hosoe, who had already collaborated with Hijikata on three art projects —including the movie *Heso to genbaku* (*Navel and A-Bomb*, 1960) and the photographic series *Otoko to onna* (*Man and Woman*, 1961)—invited him to embody the weasel-like demon *kamaitachi* of Japanese legend, who with his sickle-shaped nails shreds the skin of his victims without causing them any pain.[24] The two artists, who worked and lived in Tokyo, decided to locate their project in the Tōhoku region of northern Japan, where they had both been raised. The Tōhoku landscape became a stage for performances that the photographer translated into theatrical, symbolic images. Both the landscape and the figure of the *kamaitachi* served Hosoe as a sounding board for his memories of the Second World War, when, following the carpet-bombing of Tokyo, he was evacuated to his birthplace where he first heard the legend of the *kamaitachi*. Hosoe described the series as "subjective documentary," a phrase that points up the paradox of choosing the reality-bound medium of photography to visualize (invisible) personal recollections. Stylistically, *Kamaitachi* is rooted in the photographic discourse embodied by the Vivo group (1959–60), of which Hosoe was a member; Vivo effected an enormous shift from narrative photojournalism to openly expressive and individualistic documentary photography.[25]

Hosoe's photographs capitalized on all that Hijikata's *butoh* and his "antibody" had already accomplished: some images emphasize the libidinous body, while others show defecation. The dancer is also depicted bent double in a pose that recalls Japan's rice farmers. After Hosoe's project, Hijikata began incorporating this pose into his live performances—a development that coincides with his growing interest in his own roots in rural Japan and his efforts to engage with the identity of his home region. In the context of *butoh*, the bent body contrasts with the upright, open pose of the classical dancer and resists the conventional idealization of the human body, as exemplified by the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964. Hijikata rejected this idealization, preferring to emulate the motor movements of those afflicted by mental illness or polio, his aim being to create a body that flouted social norms, an "antibody" such as the one encountered in Moriyama's series of dead embryos.

In this respect, the most relevant interaction in *Kamaitachi* is that seen in photographs of Hijikata among the villagers. Hijikata had previously sought to involve his audiences in his performances and his efforts sometimes took on a confrontational aspect, as when he tried to engage unsuspecting passersby in Tokyo. Hosoe translated these actions into a distinctive idiom. In one composition, he transformed Hijikata's bent body into an area of darkness sandwiched between two parallel strips of illuminated landscape (plate 98). Hijikata's performances were of course ephemeral, consisting in a sequence of movements that develop over a period in time. Photography, in contrast, captures a specific instant, meaning that it is static, but also portable and reproducible, and thus not confined to a concrete place or time. Hosoe used this tension for his pictures. The photograph of Hijikata leaping off a fence in front of a group of children (plate 96), or another of him leaping in the air next to a woman holding a bottle, are telling examples.The photographs appear to have interrupted a dynamic sequence at its climactic moment, but they also evoke Hijikata's movement. That the images evidence some of the performer's dynamism is a direct result of Hosoe's performative use of the camera.

22 – Verena Kuni, "Vom Standbild zum Starschnitt – Überlegungen zur Performanz eines Mediensprungs," in Christian Janecke, ed., *Performance und Bild – Performance als Bild* (Berlin: Philo Fine Arts, 2004), 224.
23 – Tōmatsu Shōmei, "Tōgarashiiro no nihon rettō" [The Flaming Red Japanese Archipelago], *Camera Mainichi*, no. 10 (1970): 122–31.
24 – Hosoe Eikō, *Kamaitachi* (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 1969); Reprinted by Aperture, New York, 2005.
25 – Iizawa Kōtarō, "The Evolution of Postwar Photography," in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds. Anne Wilkes Tucker et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 2003), 217–20.

The collaboration between Hosoe and Hijikata bore fruit in a dynamic, intuitive, and dialogical recording process. Hosoe notes that while he chose the setting for some of Hijikata's actions, he allowed him considerable latitude for his performances, which he then pictured through his choice of frame and his timing.[26] Improvisation played a crucial role: Hijikata once described the picture of him running across a field with an infant in his arms (fig. 4), recalling that he had first asked the father for permission to hold his child. No sooner had the child been handed to him than Hijikata set off at a sprint—with the father in hot pursuit—so that the photographer would have to capture him "on the fly."[27] *Kamaitachi* can be understood as a happening between two artists, whose dynamic is inscribed in the image and translated into images through photography. The picture that captures Hijikata in the act of bolting shows this clearly, inasmuch as we see not only the dancer running, but Hosoe's own "performance," which is apparent in the slight blurring of the landscape as he runs past it. These compositional aspects hint at an inversion of the classical relationship between photography and performance: Hosoe's image serves not merely as proof of the dancer's action, but itself becomes performance. Katja Centonze has drawn attention to this quality, arguing not from a cross-media, but rather from a corporo-ontological perspective. In her view, the series is not a representation, but rather a manifestation of a *butoh* performance and hence a dance event as it must have looked to the audience that witnessed it live.[28] The bodies involved in the collaborative recording process transform the static, temporal fixation of the photo, Centonze argues. Not only do they display corporeality, in other words, but they make it a live experience as well.

Iimura Takahiko's *Shine dansu* (*Cine-Dances*) with Hijikata likewise make dance an experience. Recorded live, in the case of *The Masseurs* and *Rose-Colored Dance,* his works are comparable with *Kamaitachi*; both translate performance into new works, using genuinely remediatizing means.[29] Iimura made himself part of the performance to the extent that he filmed on stage, standing among the dancers, which explains why the camera movements in his works are so dynamic. When transferring these movements onto celluloid, he exaggerated them through the use of jump cuts, faulty exposure, illogical editing, and tight framing, and in doing so rendered visible the chaotic and dynamic aspects of *butoh.* In a conversation about the remediatization of *butoh,* Iimura remarked that to convey the essence of dance, you had to use a medium that itself performed.[30] *Kamaitachi* goes some way toward fulfilling this demand, at least when viewed in terms of the performativity of some of the shots, but makes less use of the formal possibilities of "performative photography" than Iimura's *Cine-Dances*. Many of Hosoe's photographs content themselves with reproducing Hijikata's actions at a given instant. The photographer's perspective, moreover, is further removed than that of Iimura, as almost all his photographs of Hijikata are full-figure shots, which of necessity imply a certain distance between spectator and subject.

The passage from Nakahira's "The Paradox of a Mad Aesthetic" (cited above as epigraph to this essay) can be read as media critique. For Nakahira, Hijikata embodies a form of madness that is not expressed in Hosoe's orderly, indeed beautiful compositions, which the critic sees as the product of a refined, bourgeois taste. The reason for this, according to Nakahira, lies in Hosoe's gaze, which is rational and sets the photographer apart from madness. Nakahira concludes that while he does not doubt Hosoe's genius, this genius becomes apparent only when it allows itself to descend into madness, since only then can it achieve anything genuinely "extravagant."[31] Nakahira's text can be read as indicative of a generational shift and of the change in the approach to photography that took place between the days of the Vivo group and the Provoke photographers. In relation to the remediatization of Hijikata's *butoh* in photography, the study of William Klein's photographs of the dancer turns out to be highly illuminating.

The Photographic Experience: William Klein

Klein's photographs are based on a spontaneous, improvised performance staged specially for the photographer on the streets of Tokyo. They show Hijikata with Ohno Kazuo, with whom he collaborated over a period of many years, together with Ohno's son Yoshito (fig. 5 and 6). Although Klein decided where the dancers were to perform—one setting was the downtown district of Shinbashi—he did not influence the performance in any other way.[32] The younger Ohno described it as a fluid and free sequence of movements, in the course of which, through

Fig. 4 – Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #37, 1968. Albertina, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Fig. 5 – William Klein
Hijikata Tatsumi and Ohno Yoshito, dance happening on Ginza, Tokyo, 1961. The Estate of William Klein.

Fig. 6 – William Klein
Street happening with Ohno Kazuo, Ohno Yoshito and Hijikata Tatsumi, Tokyo, 1961. The Estate of William Klein.

26 – Hosoe, interview.
27 – Hijikata, *Collected Works*.
28 – Katja Centonze, "Encounters between Media and Body Technologies. Mishima Yukio, Hijikata Tatsumi, and Hosoe Eikō," in *Enacting Culture: Japanese Theater in Historical and Modern Contexts*, eds. Barbara Geilhorn et al. (Munich: Ludicium, 2012), 230 and 234.
29 – See Peter Eckersall, "Catastroph in Association – Butoh Cine Dance as Cross-Media Performance Art," in *Enacting Culture*: 207–17. See also Peter Eckersall, *Performativity and Event in 1960s Japan: City, Body, Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 37–60.
30 – Aaron Kerner, "Takahiko Iimura's Butoh Films: Cine-Dance in *Anma* (*The Masseurs*) and *Rose Color Dance*, Interview," *Positions: East As Cultures Critique* 21, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 703–23.
31 – Nakahira, "The Paradox," 1968.
32 – Klein, interview.

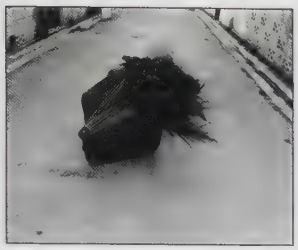


Fig. 7 – Ishiguro Kenji
Tatsumi Hijikata, 1970. Tokyo, Keio University Art Center.

a process of trial and error, Hijikata sought to arrive at what he saw as a representative form. According to Ohno, Hijikata's *butoh* actually began with form,[33] which is why capturing it at the right moment was not so difficult—there being a direct link between Hijikata's body and photography. The value of photography to the dancer lay in its capacity to fixate "experience" as a central aspect of *butoh*.[34]

Hijikata developed the concept of "experience" in 1960, a year before Klein's photographs. The concept defines dance through the corporeal experience of dance.[35] The body does not tell a story nor does it represent anything; it is experienced. The dancer embodies intuited pathological or sexual states that can transform the whole body. The experience, however, is not his alone, but through the presence of the body can be shared by the spectator as well. It is dialogical inasmuch as the dancer experiences his body in response to his spectators, who in turn experience it in response to the dancer. Shared experience bridges the divide between spectator and dancer—Hijikata was clearly influenced by Artaud's *Theater of Cruelty* in this respect. Nor was this effect confined to his performances in front of guests in the studio. The physical experience of *butoh* could be had even by those unprepared passersby whom Hijikata accosted on the streets of Tokyo. Klein's photographs of such performances in the public sphere are premised on this understanding of dance. The photographer was part of the concept—addressing the audience during the performance presupposed his gaze. The interaction of photographer and performer actually facilitates improvisation, which is an important element of *butoh* and essential to the immediacy of the experience, since the body is not bound to follow a predefined choreography. While the dancers prepared for the shoot in various ways, including through their choice of costume, for example, the actual circumstances on the ground, dependent on both photographer and setting, remained unpredictable. In the case of Klein's photographs, they were originally to be shot in the Asbestos Hall, but the photographer spontaneously decided to work outdoors.[36] Much the same thing happened with the photographs that Ishiguro took in 1970 for the magazine *Sekai gaho* (*Pictorial World*) (fig. 7). The photographer suggested to Hijikata that he drape himself in a *furoshiki,* a traditional Japanese cloth used to wrap everyday objects.[37] The resulting pictures show Hijikata writhing in his tight-fitting costume before eventually liberating himself from it.

The value of photography to the dancers resided in the improvised sequences captured by Ishiguro and Klein. The experience of being photographed could itself be a source of inspiration for further actions, while the images served as a basis for the development of future *butoh* performances.[38] Moreover, the photographs helped to preserve the moments experienced. Hijikata described this effect in an interview, taking Hosoe's photograph of him holding a baby as an example: "I was running in poor footing too. It was very muddy. When you're running in that kind of setting, you really can regress to a screaming baby. I saw the finished photograph, and the baby's face, looking up intensely at the sky, came out brighter than what you see in Western optics, and it was cracked like those cheap *dagashi* sweets for kids. This is something you can't get from plain mechanics. You wouldn't be able to 'hear' the sounds of the screaming. You have to really contemplate what the essence of such a cry is, or else, you won't be able to produce anything interesting."[39] Hijikata's point is that photography, by transcending its own "mechanics," can be just as much a vehicle of experience as dance. Photographs of performances staged specially for the camera, like those of Hosoe and Klein, can thus be interpreted as forms of *butoh* in their own right, independent of the live action.

Hijikata's dance relates to Klein's photographs from a photographic perspective, too, which after all is a form of recording. In an essay about Klein published in the first issue of the magazine *Foto Critica* in 1967,[40] Nakahira argued that the blurring, graininess, and unorthodox framing that typify Klein's photographs result not from formal considerations, but from the photographer's chosen method. Klein had not used the camera as a vehicle of artistic expression or to visualize a predefined message. The images were rather the result of his having bared himself to the world and allowed reality, as it were, to dictate his compositions. The photographer, in other words, is a reagent. Central to this process is "experience," in that the photographer experiences his surroundings and then, through his gaze, translates this "experience" into the photographic medium. The image itself is understood merely as an illustration—as proof that the experience was registered. The methodological inversion through which photographs, instead of conveying an

33 – Ohno, interview. Ohno Yoshito describes the importance of form to Hijikata's *butoh* by contrasting it with Ohno Kazuo's approach. Ohno's dance was more spiritual and the transformation of the body was achieved through the "embodiment" of spirits. The different approaches adopted by Hijikata and Ohno are apparent in Klein's photographs, in which Ohno embodies the "spirit" of Divine, a character from Jean Genet's *Notre-Dame-des-Fleurs* (1943), as is evident from his costume. Ohno's movements, moreover, are softer, more fluid, and less expressive than Hijikata's. According to Ohno Yoshito, his father's individual form of *butoh* made it more difficult to produce a photobook about him.
34 – Ibid.
35 – The first use of this term as a conceptual element of *butoh* dates from July 1960, when Hijikata called a performance *Hijikata Tatsumi DANCE EXPERIENCE no kai* (*Hijikata Tatsumi's DANCE EXPERIENCE Recital*). Even before that, Hijikata had belonged to a group of artists, among them the filmmaker Donald Richie, who called themselves The 650 EXPERIENCE Society. The number is an allusion to the seating capacity of the hall in which the group performed and hence to the number of "experiences" that were possible. See Baird, *Hijikata Tatsumi and Butoh*, 47.
36 – Klein, interview.
37 – Ishiguro, interview.
38 – Ohno, interview.
39 – Hijikata, *Collected Works*.
40 – See pp. 362–367

artistic concept or meaning, register an experiential response to the world, bears a close affinity with Hijikata's dance concept. Whereas in Klein's work it is the camera that registers experience, for Hijikata it is the body that visualizes it. Viewing Klein's photographs of Hijikata's performances from this perspective allows them to be defined as a distillation of two distinct experiences. The presence of the photographer, or rather the experience of being photographed, has an impact on Hijikata's body and his dance. By the same token, Klein's photographs register the experience of Hijikata's corporeality and performance. At the level of motif, this is conveyed through the emphatic focus on the dancer's body, an emphasis that distinguishes Klein's photographs from those by Hosoe and Takanashi. Through the settings chosen by Hijikata, be it Haneda Airport or a chicken-coop, Takanashi's photographs—contrary to what he himself says about his work[41]—embed the dancer's body in a narrative symbolism. Hosoe's *Kamaitachi,* on the other hand, depicts Hijikata as a figure in a larger narrative that evokes the photographer's own recollections of the Second World War. And Klein's photographs, by comparison, do not follow an a priori concept or a predefined meaning and hence exclusively treat the experience of the body.

As Matthew S. Witkovsky argues elsewhere in this volume, Nakahira's essay on Klein can be read as a description of his own understanding of photography. Assuming that is correct, then Nakahira's own grainy, blurred, unfocused idiom, and to a certain extent the images of other Provoke photographers as well, can be viewed as grounded in an approach to the world that is closely aligned with Hijikata's concept of the experiential body. In all these cases, the experience of the world is inscribed into a specific medium, and that medium, for both Provoke and Hijikata, is more than just a vehicle to represent a message or embody a meaning.[42] Hijikata's dance is a (body) language which, to paraphrase the Provoke photographers themselves, is beyond the reach of normal speech; its semantic ambiguity "provokes" by setting trains of thought in motion.

Converting a performance of and in reality into a static visual form, Provoke photographs are similar to those of Hijikata in stylistic terms, too. This is especially apparent in the photographs in Moriyama's book *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (*Japan: A Photo Theater,* 1968), which shows the actions of the avant-garde theater troupe Tenjō Sajiki (Peanut Gallery), founded by Hijikata's close friend and rival Terayama Shūji, on the streets of Tokyo. Moriyama's off-kilter framing and seemingly incorrect exposures accentuate the performative aspect of the work so that performance and photographic image become one, the fleeting, temporary quality of the action having found a visual equivalent in photographic instantaneity. The photographs of Hijikata by Klein, whose influence on Moriyama is well known,[43] are similar in terms of their performative character, too. Klein captures the dancer in close-ups, departing from conventional stage views—which in turn underscores the spontaneity and dynamism of the recording process. Photography as a performative act is visibly inscribed in the images themselves, which thus evoke bodily dynamism. One aspect central to the remediatization of Hijikata's performances—which Hosoe's *Kamaitachi* images merely hint at—is clearly apparent in Klein's images: defocusing and close-ups, both of which render the photographs performative. To paraphrase Iimura, we might even say that in the photographs of William Klein, it is not just Hijikata, but the medium itself that performs. And it is for this same reason that Hijikata's *butoh* found an ideal visual equivalent in a photographic idiom whose arc can be traced from Klein to the photographers of Provoke.

41 – Takanashi, interview. Takanashi Yutaka sees his photos of Hijikata as belonging to the context of *Provoke* and specific artistic aspirations, such as the attempt to dispense with narrative meaning in photography. This particular aspect has enabled Takanashi to draw a distinction between his works and those of Hosoe, which to his mind are still essentially narrative.

42 – Miryam Sas discusses the generation of meaning as a process shared by Hijikata and the Provoke photographers, as well as various other artistic currents in postwar Japan, in her book *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagine Return* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011).

43 – See, among others, Simon Baker ed., *Daidō Moriyama* (London: Tate Publishing, 2012).

HOSOE EIKŌ

Interviewed by Walter Moser

Walter Moser: Could you tell us the story of *Kamaitachi* (1969)?

Hosoe Eikō: It is a documentary of the *butoh* dancer Hijikata [Tatsumi]. But a documentary from the photographer, Hosoe Eikō's, point of view. So it's a *subjective* documentary, told through my heart, through my eyes.

WM: What is the *kamaitachi*?

HE: It is a (mythical) animal that is both comical and ominous. Villagers will say, "The *kamaitachi* is coming!" but everyone knows it's not out to harm you. They'll scream, "Nooo, I'm scared!" but it's not that they're petrified. So, in that sense, we can say the *kamaitachi* is a village mascot. You can tell children, "If you're bad, the *kamaitachi* will come and get you!" You can scare them like that. But the adults know the truth.

WM: You had previously made photographs and books in your Tokyo studio. Why did you leave for the northern hinterlands?

HE: *Kamaitachi* was shot in Akita Prefecture [in the Tōhoku region], where Hijikata was born, and also in Tokyo, sometimes, where we both had our studios. I would often go out drinking with Hijikata in [the neighborhood of] Meguro. But gradually I became aware of this urge in me to want to shoot the landscape of Akita. So we decided one day, "Let's go." He wanted to go back home, as he hadn't done that for a while. He visited his old house. He really didn't talk about where his house was, and the people of the village weren't forewarned that he would be coming, so they went about their daily work in the gardens. Without ever meeting his family, I just ended up shooting him having these drinks with villagers there in a rice paddy.

WM: How long and how often did the two of you travel to the north?

HE: It was only two or three days in Akita. A lot [of the book] was taken in Shibamata. We visited many, many places. In total it took maybe ten months or so to finish. I just went wherever I thought was interesting. Most of these places I had never visited before, but I took photographs so I could visualize them before shooting [Hijikata].
One picture was taken in Sugamo in Tokyo, in a location called Togenukijizo. At the statue there is a famous fortune-teller who reads faces. Both Hijikata and I were interested, so we went up to this fortune-teller to have our faces read. It took about an hour. The fortune-teller gave us permission to photograph. He was extremely drawn to Hijikata, probably because he has quite an idiosyncratic face. So perhaps his fate was quite different from others'.

WM: Akita had a special meaning for the both of you, no?

HE: I was born in another part of Tōhoku, in Yamagata Prefecture, adjacent to Akita, and I spent my early days there. I've spent the majority of my life in Tokyo, but during the Pacific War, when children were evacuated from the city to the rural regions, I went back to Tōhoku and to Yamagata.

WM: So, *Kamaitachi* is also about wartime memories?

HE: It has no direct correlation. It's just that it was the region in which Hijikata and I were both brought up. The war did happen in that period, but it doesn't necessarily correlate to the war.

WM: But it is about remembrance?

HE: Yes, that's right. My hometown, and the home of my mother has great significance for me. My relatives are all from the region. So there's a sense of familiarity.

WM: What is it that interests you in *butoh* and Hijikata's concept of the human body? And where did you two first meet?

HE: My first encounter with Hijikata was at his Meguro dance studio. There was a great *butoh* dancer named Motofuji Akiko [who became Hijikata's wife]. I met her then, when I was twenty. That was my very first encounter with *butoh* dance. *Butoh* is a common word (it means simply "to dance"). But then it became almost a proper noun, known to the world as a new form of dance emerging from Japan. So it all began with Ms. Motofuji. And also with Yokohama-based Ohno Kazuo. He taught dance, and also was a high-school gym teacher. It's a very avant-garde style of dance. Through Hijikata, I think, Ohno also elevated his own dance. Motofuji, Ohno, and Hijikata are huge figures for me.
This new form of modern ballet that Hijikata and the others were doing was quite something in that it was "expression using the flesh." With *butoh*, the body itself is a language. I was flabbergasted and moved. It resonated with me. How could I capture this with my camera? I wanted to know how an artist's expression would touch me, and how I would harness that in my own work. So in a way, it would be a battle between two artists. There's no doing things halfway. You have to go all the way. So that's where it all began. My usage of the body as a central theme in my work began with Hijikata.
Back then, when I met Motofuji, I was a member of a group called Demokrato; the other members were painters, poets, writers, and sculptors. We would get together often to debate about art, and once these debates started, it would be like a sumo-wrestling match until dawn. We were all full of energy, and I was immersed in these activities. Demokrato eventually disbanded, but in a related corner of the avant-garde were the founders of *butoh*.

WM: Are we talking about *ankoku butoh*?

HE: The *ankoku* came after that. That was Hijikata. He called it *ankoku* [blackness or darkness] because, he said, "it comes from the dark."

WM: You were part of the Vivo group that was founded in 1959, with Kawada Kikuji and Tōmatsu Shōmei. You were widely known for initiating a new direction in photography. I assume there were discussions within Vivo as to the direction in which photography should go?

HE: We talked about the liberation of photography. It should not always be socio-realistic, or realism, or anything like that. It could be anything. That was my basic approach. I'm not saying that taking the socio-realistic approach is wrong. But the general tone in those days was that if it's not socio-realistic, it's not photography. We wanted to posit an anti-thesis to that. We thought photography should be free from any ideology or political notion.

WM: Was Vivo a group, or was it people more loosely associated with one another?

HE: Well, there were several purposes to forming the group. One is functional: alone, you can't own a studio. With six you can, because you can split the rent. By the same token, you can't hire an assistant alone, but with six you can hire three. Also, when you

have six young artists who like to argue, you're debating all the time. So I became really good at debating.

WM: Was Vivo a political group?

HE: We were artistically political. Not politically political.

WM: So you didn't engage in the student riots or protest movements?

HE: We were more individual. There was no individuality among the students. Because if you went to them to ask, "What do you think?" they wouldn't be able to answer. And the answers that they gave were [merely] political. So they were of the "socialist political realism" realm. I think youth is like that the world over.

WM: Your colleagues Kawada and Tōmatsu reacted to the aftermath of war with *Chizu* (*The Map*) and *Nagasaki 11:02* respectively—direct reflections on the atomic bombs. How did you relate to these topics?

HE: Influences infused by the a-bomb are somewhere in all of my works. It was such an intense experience. But it's usually not very specific. For me, it all came down to the human body. The human body, to me, is the most important, urgent, imminent theme. And it's also political. Political and cultural.

WM: In one picture, Hijikata is carrying a flag, and also on a poster, which was designed by Yokoo Tadanori in 1968 for an exhibition of *Kamaitachi*, you can see the Japanese flag. Was Japanese identity an interesting subject to you?

HE: I don't have any memory of taking a picture with the national flag in it ... I see what you mean, you're talking about the Rising Sun Flag. But I wasn't particularly aware of Japanese identity as a theme.

WM: For many photographers, it seems the rural areas were places where one could find the "true" Japanese culture, without or in spite of Americanization. Tōmatsu travelled to Okinawa, and Moriyama [Daidō] to Tono, for example. *Kamaitachi* was also shot in a rural area. Was this an interest for you?

HE: Not Americanized, rather Westernized. Only a portion was Americanized. When Japan opened its doors one hundred years ago, the West came in, and the Japanese utilized what came, and made it their own flesh. That's just how history unfolded. So we're not particularly conscious of it. But I think it's interesting how it has all unfolded. Whatever was useful, the Japanese have made their own. With Japan, and probably other countries too, it's not win or lose, or live or die. If you think Japan died because it was Westernized, that's a huge misconception. So you see, the Japanese are not as weak as the Westerners may think.

WM: In your work with Hijikata, did you choose the locations? Or was it Hijikata? Did he propose the poses too?

HE: It was 100 percent Hosoe Eikō. Otherwise, what would it be?

WM: A collaboration?

HE: A collaboration, yes, but he is a great artist, and he can express himself in whatever circumstances, and at whatever moment. Hijikata is Hijikata. But in the end these are my

photographs. I use his talent. In turn, he uses my talent, and my position as a photographer, and together we made a collaborative piece of photographic work.

WM: How did the shooting proceed?

HE: In this work, I was the director/photographer, and Hijikata the actor. I would say, "I want to do so and so!" and immediately he would understand and take my cue. He would know what to do.

WM: So would it be safe to say you directed him?

HE: He directed himself.

WM: Two directors.

HE: Yes. He is an amazing director in his own right and a brilliant actor too. But I controlled the framing. So he had a lot of freedom in the collaboration. I do that with other people too. Sure, I'll give them direction, but I give them a lot of space to play around. And they come up with something that they would not have discovered if working with someone else. A film is much like that, but with a film there are many people involved in the process, so you have to be very specific about who plays what role. With photography, on the other hand, you only need to set one or two basic rules. The rest is up to the photographer. If it's not interesting, all you have to do is stop shooting.

WM: A photographer also tries to capture movement through a single moment which represents the flow of time.

HE: You might be surprised to see me shoot. I say a lot, I gesture a lot. It's very dynamic. The way I shoot leaves me and my subject exhausted. But you have to push as far as you can to get the moment that you want to capture.

WM: William Klein photographed Hijikata, as did Fukase Masahisa. Klein shot close-ups to make the body very present. Are there any strategies that you followed to visualize the corporeality? The expression and the body?

HE: It really depends on the shot.

WM: Could you give an example?

HE: It's just all a very organic process. This picture, with the bride and the sake bottle . . . You'd have to be Japanese to come up with this idea.

WM: Was the motif your idea?

HE: Absolutely. The more minute details are not directed, though. I'm not that meticulous. In one picture I just told him to perch himself in a tree and scream at the flowers above. But the rest was up to Hijikata, and to me, to decide which moment to shoot.

WM: How did you get the villagers involved?

HE: Photographers can be very cunning at times. Sometimes, you'll previsualize the image, yet not say anything to your models. In that case they will look bewildered. If you want to get that kind of look, that's one way you can go about it.

WM: How did you get this picture of Hijikata being carried around by villagers?

HE: They were all having a meal. I just said, "come along we're doing this 'festival'!" With that word, they knew what to do. Because a village festival allows room to accept that which is alien.

WM: How did they react to Hijikata?

HE: Well, they knew nothing about him. So I had to shout and talk my way through the whole process! Once it was all over, they were left not quite knowing what had happened. And then I would say, "Thank you very much, we're done," and bring some sake.

WM: Was it easy to involve them?

HE: Yes, it was. But you have to let them know that you mean no harm. So it's better to look and dress a bit like a fool. Because in those days, they would be wary of someone coming from Tokyo.

WM: In some pictures, the landscape looks very dangerous. Especially toward the end of the photo book. The landscape looks hostile, and the human figure is alone and alienated.

HE: We searched for this landscape. We went and found this place and decided on the spot. It was a quick shoot. Or else we would have frozen to death!

WM: Before the publication of the book, did you also do some darkroom work? Was there any retouching, or changes in tonality?

HE: It's 99 percent unretouched. All straight.

WM: You worked with Mishima Yukio for the book *Barakei* (*Ordeal by Roses*). How was that experience compared to working with Hijikata?

HE: The starkest difference between the two works is that one doesn't have to be Hijikata, whereas the other has to be Mishima. If it wasn't Mishima, I would not have photographed it. This was at his home, his garden. *Kamaitachi* is not me shooting Hijikata Tatsumi. He's a subject. These are photographs of a dancer who just happens to be Hijikata Tatsumi. It's a very important difference.[In either case, though], you can't do something like this if you are aiming for a simple illustration.A photographic work is, in a sense, an equal collaboration between the photographer and his subject. There are cases where that is *not* true, of course, like photojournalism. If photojournalism was a collaboration between the photographer and his subject, it wouldn't be photojournalism. A relationship between the two parties which is clear, but still has some substance to it, is something that is not too easy to grasp.

WM: With *Kamaitachi* and *Ordeal by Roses*, did you already have the pictures in your mind? Was it just when you saw the surroundings that you came up with the ideas? Both?

HE: Good question. You always go in with a basic idea. But you never know what's going to happen. So it's a delicate balance between going with that concept, or leaving it up to spontaneity, because that might bring about the more interesting outcome; this is what I did with the shot with the moon in *Kamaitachi*, for example. You have to be aware that what you have in your head as a photographer has its limits.You must be humble. Otherwise nothing new will be born. You have to leave a portion up to chance. There are extraordinary moments in which chance and what you've been premeditating come

together ... just like that. Good photos are born in those moments.

WM: The original edition of *Kamaitachi* has foldouts on every page; these are a crucial design decision. Who came up with the idea?

HE: That was [the designer] Tanaka Ikko's idea. It seemed a lot of work at first, but it does make the book look bigger. So I thought it was interesting, and it's unusual, so we decided to go with the idea.

WM: Parts of the image are hidden, and you have to open each gatefold to see the whole picture. Was that approach influenced by the gatefolds in Kawada's *The Map*?

HE: No, we were quite different.

WM: Were Hijikata or Mishima involved in selecting or sequencing images?

HE: No.

WM: Moriyama, for example, simply sent prints to the designer, and the designer made the selection and decided on the order of the photographs too. Who made decisions in your case?

HE: I did. With Moriyama, it doesn't matter which is chapter one or chapter two. He can do it because he's originally a designer. But in terms of content, Moriyama's book would have been better left to someone else to design [rather than himself]. Chapter one could have been chapter four, and chapter four, one.
In my case, I have an idea as to how I want to proceed, but I consult with the designer, and in instances where I see that it's better to leave it to the designer, I do so.

WM: *Kamaitachi* is difficult to read, though. Does it have a narrative development?

HE: There is a through-line. You can see that in the first part and last part. The assembly of these photographs is a really interesting process.

WM: Do you see the book and the prints as completely different works?

HE: I see them as completely different works, but of equal importance. There's no saying which is better or worse.

WM: *Kamaitachi* came out as a book in 1969. That was also the time when *Provoke* was published. Did you get a copy of the *Provoke* magazines when they came out?

HE: I did not purchase editions. But of course, I knew about the magazine.

WM: The Provoke group involved photographer-critics like Nakahira Takuma and Taki Kōji. Taki says that Provoke would not have been possible without photographers like you, because you were a new type of photographer for them. Did you follow their theory or content?

HE: I think I was their enemy or rival. Maybe they needed that. Still, it's understandable that Taki said that. If there's a mountain in front of you, you want to destroy that mountain and proceed. So without us, they would not have existed. I presume that they had a hard time understanding my work. Their philosophy, I think, is rather narrow. My work might not fit into their scope of thought. I am beyond that. And look, now who do you think appreciates Provoke's theory? Whereas, what I do, people understand.

WM: When you started to take pictures, which photographers were known in Japan? Which photo-theorists were known?

HE: If I were to speak of someone I know well, there is Fukushima Tatsuo. Fukushima was an art critic, but he wanted to break into photography criticism too, so he asked a photo magazine editor to introduce him to a young and interesting photographer. The editor gave him my name, and Fukushima contacted me. The two of us talked day in and day out. Fukushima introduced me to the people of Demokrato and I got to know [the experimental surrealist artist] Ei-Q and various painters and poets.

WM: *Kamaitachi* is about Hijikata and the landscape, or the interaction between Hijikata and the landscape. Was the landscape as background an idea influenced by traditional Japanese theater?

HE: I wasn't particularly conscious of this tradition. There were, of course, many realistic photographs that photographers took of the Japanese landscape. Kimura Ihei took really good photos in Akita.

WM: Do you see *Kamaitachi* as a societal metaphor?

HE: No. It's a metaphor of me. There's probably a shadow in me. It's generational. I was in the sixth grade in 1945. I was evacuated from Tokyo, so I was away from my parents. I was lonely. The relatives taking care of me were kind, there was plenty of food around, while there was nothing to eat in Tokyo. But when you're away from your parents, the kindness of others intensifies the loneliness and the feeling of alienation. It is a side of war that not many people have talked about.
The last photograph in the book signifies the road to tomorrow. The baby signifies tomorrow. He's running toward tomorrow.

THE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE PHOTOGRAPH: TAKAMATSU JIRŌ'S *PHOTOGRAPH*

Mitsuda Yuri

Fig. 1 – *Bijutsu nenkan '73* (*'73 Annual of Arts in Japan*), January 1973. Courtesy of Mitsuda Yuri.

Shashin no shashin (*Photograph*)

Takamatsu Jirō trained as a painter, graduating from the painting department of Tokyo University of the Arts. Later, as a member of the Hi Red Center group, he organized and carried out a series of happenings (1962–64). He went on to develop works that made effective use of a wide range of materials: everyday items, lumber, lightbulbs, sheet steel, words. From 1982 until his death, he mainly created paintings. He loved cameras and from the latter half of the 1950s would take photographs now and again. However, he only produced photographs as works of art in 1972 and 1973.

Takamatsu's body of photographic work is entitled *Shashin no shashin* (literally, "photograph of photograph," which he chose to name *Photograph* in English). As the title suggests, it is a series of (black-and-white) photographs of photographs. (The original photograph will be referred to here as Photograph A, the photograph of it as Photograph B.) He did not title these works individually. They were all photographed in Takamatsu's home and studio using a medium-format camera, under the artist's direction, with the professional photographer Watanabe Hiromi releasing the shutter (the prints were made by Watanabe or others, not by the artist). Photographs A, the photographs being photographed, were curled and warped, which in places caused reflections, so that their images could only be partially captured. Almost all the Photographs A were family photographs belonging to Takamatsu and his wife; a few were borrowed from others or acquired from sources close at hand.

Takamatsu ultimately made fifty or more photographs in the series. The Photograph B prints vary in size from 20.3 × 25.4 cm to 100 × 125 cm. He initially did not make editions of these prints, so that each work was unique. At the time, the series was simply titled *Shashin* (*Photograph*). Takamatsu chose the title *Shashin no shashin* when he made a portfolio of forty-five new printsas edition work (from the original negatives) in 1991, after this work had been set aside for many years, although the English title remained *Photograph. Photograph* asserts with deceptive simplicity the fact that these are photographs; in fact, Takamatsu cultivated layers of meaning in his work.

From Emblem to Existence

The first semi-public appearance of Takamatsu's *Photograph,* in March 1972, occurred in an exhibition held in and around his home studio, that was open to visitors only by invitation. The show was organized by Takamatsu in collaboration with his private students. At the invitation of critic Minemura Toshiaki, Takamatsu submitted a selection of works from that quasi-show to the annual *Bijutsu nenkan '73* (*'73 Annual of Arts in Japan*, January 1973) (fig. 1). A two-page spread shows five works by Takamatsu installed in what is called, the *Kashō gappyōkai* (Joint Review Meeting, Tentatively Titled).[1] The right-hand page of this spread shows one *Photograph*, an unframed print (Photograph B) attached with four thumbtacks to the studio wall. Photograph A, a picture of people swimming in the sea, had been pinned up and rephotographed to make Photograph B. The published installation view may thus be considered a third *Photograph*, or Photograph C.

Two themes can be noted here. One expresses photograph's dual nature: as an object and as a conduit for communicating images. Photograph A shows a surface covered in reflected light; it presents itself as a sheet of glossy paper fixed to the wall. Photograph B acts as a frame for the materiality of Photograph A, in a move that is characteristic of the *Photograph* series.

Note, however, that in the illustration, Photograph A has a double frame: that of Photograph B but also that of the surrounding wall, visible in Photograph C. Photograph C seems intended to show that Photograph B was displayed in the exact place where the print of Photograph A had been photographed to create it.

The identity of place between the site of display and the site of initial photography annuls an essential photographic function: to transmit images of a different place or time. Here we have a site specificity, a sense of "this place," with Photograph B. The addition of Photograph C makes

1 – *Bijutsu nenkan '73* was a special publication of the magazine *Bijutsu techō* [*Art Notes*]. The spread of works by Takamatsu appeared in an unpaginated section of illustrations bringing together new and noteworthy works from the previous year.

clear that Photograph B (or *Photograph*) is an installation, a work that must be beheld in person, in a particular location. These two themes—the dual nature of the photograph as both object and medium, and the specificity of the object—characterized *Photograph* in its first appearance.

How the artist treated the magazine coverage of this work is fascinating. The caption, printed on the right-hand page, reads, "'*73 Annual of Arts*; photograph, 27 × 22 cm; photographer: Yamamoto Toshitaka." It is strange that Takamatsu bothered to indicate the size of Photograph B or the name of the photographer who took the installation view of *Photograph*. It is also strange that where he would be expected to indicate the materials used, he states only the name of the magazine and "photograph." Takamatsu's explanation suggests that *Photograph* as a work of art was both a preexisting work and a work on (or as) a magazine page. Furthermore, by stating that Photograph C, the image printed on the page of the magazine, is a version of the work, he incorporates the relationship with the reader of the magazine in this work of art. Takamatsu was scrutinizing the relationship between the "work" and the location in which it would be beheld—including in a magazine.

Site Specificity

Looking again at the spread in the magazine, we see that all the works in that Joint Review Meeting, Tentatively Titled were site-specific and not repeatable. The artist's actions in connection to things, intersecting in the here and now, are vividly present. The other works are all entitled *Fukugōtai* (*Compound*). One is an unstable chair in the studio, one leg propped on a brick. Two further *Compounds* consist of the shattered pieces of various objects scattered like trash that has fallen in a corner of the atelier and its entrance. The fourth *Compound* is a wooden post with sand piled on top of it. Takamatsu used a post on a nearby road, just as it was, when the road was empty. None of the things displayed were defined or specified. Their individual contours and names are left vague. Retaining fluidity, they connect with other things; they indicate their current phase in the vortex of flowing time.

Takamatsu's momentary actions using objects or materials are presented as evanescent traces. During this period, Takamatsu tried to distance himself from art, from the object creation in which he had previously engaged. He seemed to be drawing closer to the approach of Mono-ha, which distanced itself from the deliberate act of formation and treated as works actions with direct connections to things.[2]

Or perhaps we can connect his experiments to the regeneration or renewal of sculptural convention. Sculpture generally seems to have monumentality or immortality. If I say that sculpture exists in real space with illusional movement and fake eternity, Takamatsu's works are the reverse. In historical terms, *Photograph* certainly relates to the newfound prominence for photography within contemporary art, spurred by its promotion among artists affiliated with the international conceptual art movement. A number of these artists, from Mel Bochner, Victor Burgin, or Jan Dibbets to Nomura Hitoshi or Satoshi Saitō, treated photography as a means to test conventions of vision and perception in the (mediated) real world.[3]

When Takamatsu was creating *Photograph,* photography was gaining prominence as a means or process. As others have made clear, in periods of resistance, including 1968 in Japan, many artists internationally used photography to present alternatives and critically analyze the conventions of vision and perception. As a medium that could objectively organize and test viewpoints on real things, the photograph became a valid means in conceptual art.

Takamatsu was not in the vanguard in using photography self-reflexively, nor did he intend for photography to serve as a means of critical resistance to fine art; rather, he created photographic works that satisfied his own needs. He tried to confirm that, as is true of all real things, works of art express only a single phase within longer life spans and that representations or symbols exist in relation to all real things, not isolated in a special, empty space. In the connection between the photograph and the person viewing it on a wall (or on the page of a magazine), the photograph's nature as an illusion is relativized. The temporality of the photograph and its reality as an object are brought to the fore.

2 – Mono-ha refers to an art movement in Japan active from the late 1960s to the 1970s, and named as such by an art critic in the early 1970s. It does not indicate a specific group or artist but rather a tendency to combine natural objects such as stones, soil, and trees with industrial products such as sheet steel and glass, with almost no further manipulation of the materials, and to situate them with an awareness of space. The concept that artist and spokesperson Lee Ufan proclaimed in 1969, of "meeting the world as it is," became key to Mono-ha. Takamatsu is sometimes regarded as a forerunner of that trend; see Mika Yoshitake, Requiem for the Sun: via the Art of Mono-Ha (Blum & Poe, 20-21. *Reconsidering Mono-ha* (Osaka National Museum of Art, 2005).

3 – On these points, see Douglas Fogle, ed., *The Last Picture Show: Artists Using Photography, 1960–1982* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2005); Matthew S. Witkovsky, ed., *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964–1977* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011); and Nakamori Yasufumi, ed., *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968–1979* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2015).

Protests

The first appearance of *Photograph* was not at a public exhibition but in a private place made available only to a closed circle of acquaintances. Takamatsu did not, of course, use his home to exhibit *Photograph* because he lacked other exhibition spaces. He was a star in the Japanese contemporary art world at the time, and participated in eight exhibitions in 1972–73 alone, including two at national museums, with additional opportunities to exhibit internationally.[4] One may imagine that his choice of venue for the first presentation of *Photograph* was deliberate, allowing the artist some distance from commercial transactions or journalistic attention, to share and "jointly review" his most experimental efforts with friends and acquaintances.[5]

Takamatsu had also held a semi-private exhibition in 1970, not long after becoming an instructor at Tama Art University. He had stepped into the position in 1968, diving headfirst into the maelstrom of the student movement, which was then intensifying at universities across Japan. Helmeted student protesters built barricades and administrators responded with lockouts that made it impossible to enter classrooms and teach. Takamatsu launched an off-campus study group. He did not forcefully push his political ideas but was on the side of the students from start to finish, and apparently took part in their negotiations with Tama University representatives.[6] He soon opened a private school in his studio to continue teaching art outside the university where he shared exhibitions with his students. This could be said to be Takamatsu's protest against established or preconceived art and the art world.

While on the Tama Art University faculty, Takamatsu was also aware of the ferocious campus strife at its sister institution, the Tama School of Art. Tōmatsu Shōmei was on the faculty there, as was Nakahira Takuma, who called Tōmatsu a mentor.[7] Tōmatsu and Nakahira photographed the protests at the Tama School of Art, to which they reacted strongly. Takamatsu, who had not tried his hand at photography, despite having worked with a great variety of materials, knew of the two photographers' work and actions and, through them, must have become more aware of the effectiveness of the photograph, a concept that had newly emerged in the art world. Photography at that time seemed ideally suited to protests.

Takamatsu's position was not, however, simply that of someone engaged in resistance. As a major artist in Japan's contemporary art world, he was associated with a commercial gallery, held solo exhibitions, and continued to represent Japan in exhibitions abroad.[8] He also actively supported Expo '70, the 1970 World's Fair in Osaka, Japan, showing work and designing a huge plaza for the fair. His participation in Expo '70, which was widely criticized as an intrusion of state power in the arts, and his sympathetic exchanges with left-wing students, held equal importance for Takamatsu and his art. For that matter, although he did not exhibit works or publish statements with a clear political message, one cannot assume that he was indifferent to politics. His lack of social involvement may have been a deliberate decision to avoid ideology altogether. And it seems more than coincidence that he showed his first *Photograph* (1972), at the exact time when he finally decided to stop teaching at the university.

The São Paulo Biennial: Consciousness of Reproduction

Later, Takamatsu published two new *Photograph* works in an art magazine and showed four in a group exhibition.[9] In 1972, he also created and unveiled a great range of other works, including three-dimensional pieces and works on paper using an English-language typewriter. October 1973, when Takamatsu showed twenty new works from *Photograph* at the São Paulo Biennial, may be taken as the series' completion date. Nakahara Yusuke, the commissioner for the Japanese section, defined its theme as "The photographed and rephotographed, the printed and reprinted and copied and recopied," and selected seven artists, including Takamatsu, to participate.

The works chosen included reproductions of all sorts, from photographs to photomechanical prints and tracings. The prefix "re-" was highlighted in works that contrasted various reproduced images or showed the processes of reproduction and transcription. As Nakahara wrote in the catalog, repeated reproductions make the viewer conscious of the existence of photography itself with its function of "copying," more than communicating a message through the image.[10]

The Biennial checklist indicates that the twenty prints by Takamatsu were all made in 1973, all titled *Photograph*, and printed in the full range of his sizes for the series. A number

4 – Takamatsu showed (among other places) at the 1969 Paris Biennale; the 1970 Tokyo Biennale, titled "Between Man and Matter"; and at the 1972 International Biennial Exhibition of Prints in Tokyo, where he won the grand prize.

5 – Commercial gallery activities were quite limited in Japan at the time, but Takamatsu was among those most sought after; he had many requests for interviews and reviews, and not only from art journalists.

6 – When members of Bikyōtō (Artists' Joint-Struggle Council, formed in 1969) held exhibitions inside the barricades, they invited Takamatsu. The artist Hori Kōsai, a member of Bikyōtō, recalled that when a warrant for his arrest was issued in 1970, Takamatsu hid him in his house.

7 – Yada Taku, a student of both Tōmatsu and Nakahira, provided one of the source (or A) photographs used in *Photograph*.

8 – Takamatsu represented Japan at the 1968 Venice Biennale. This edition was surrounded by young demonstrators protesting its involvement in commercialism and authoritarian repression, and many pavilions were closed. Takamatsu set up his installation amid the uproar and decided with other participants to carry on with the exhibition. He received the Carlo Cardozzo Prize.

9 – The two photographs appeared in *Bijutsu techō* (October 1972), in a supplement titled "Shimen kaikō kikaku" [Free Magazine Plan]. In this project, the supplier of Photograph A is uncredited; Yada Taku is specified as having taken Photograph B. Both works are simply titled and credited to Takamatsu. While details are still to be confirmed, it seems that four Photograph works were included in the "Dai Ikkai Gendai Nihon Grafikku Aato Ten" (First Contemporary Japanese Graphics Exhibition), which traveled to the Shibuya Seibu Department Store in Tokyo (May 1972) and the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London (October 1972).

10 – Nakahara Yūsuke, "The Photographed and Rephotographed, the Printed and Reprinted, and Copied and Recopied," in 12 Bienal de São Paulo (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1973).

of large-format prints were produced for the international exhibition, but apart from the four included in the catalog, we do not know what they depicted. It is thought, however, that Takamatsu produced no new prints until 1991.[11] Let us attempt to analyze the content of the works he exhibited in 1973, in conjunction with surviving vintage prints.

The Photograph A works shown in São Paulo are positioned not only on walls but also in various places in Takamatsu's house (fig. 2): on a table, a work stand, the floor, or in a woman's hand (Takamatsu's wife). Others were placed upright against a radio, stacked in a box, glued into an album, framed, or left to soak in a photographic rinsing tray. Unlike his first efforts, which were close-ups of photographs on a wall, these Photograph B examples were taken with enough distance to enable us to understand where each Photograph A had been placed. The Takamatsu family's living room and other aspects of their home are plainly visible. A sense of life, unlike that rather lifeless studio wall, gives these photographs a quotidian flavor, emphasizing their placement in everyday domestic locations.

The point of view in these pictures has also changed: the frontal stance seen in the first illustrated *Photograph*, which suggested an objective placement, has given way to a variety of oblique angles. One has the sense of the photographer's physical presence, inclining his head or leaning in to take the shot. The photographer looks at a familiar Photograph A in a private place, in a natural posture for everyday activities, and from that angle makes Photograph B.

In Takamatsu's *Photograph,* the fact that the photograph is "rephotographed" is highlighted in an easily understandable way. Thus, *Photograph* may appear to be an exemplary work for the theme that Nakahara had chosen as the São Paulo commissioner. That was not, however, all the artist had in mind.

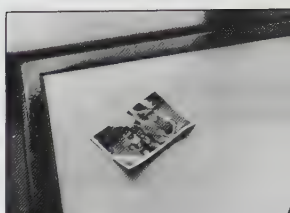


Fig. 2 – Takamatsu Jirō *Photograph*, 1973. From the catalog of *12 Biennal de São Paulo* by Japan Foundation.
Courtesy of Mitsuda Yuri.

Between Reproduction and Rephotography: Individuality and Non-Repeatability

Nakahara's emphasis on rephotography echoed a key point of interest in art-world discussions of photography during the early 1970s. At the time, art magazines were full of headlines such as "The age of reproduction" or "The age of duplication."[12] Takamatsu himself had created works using a copier. In 1970, he showed his *Eigo no moji* (*English Words*, 1970) (fig. 3) in the International Biennial Exhibition of Prints in Tokyo and other work also decorated the cover of Yoshida Mitsukuni's book *Fukusei jidai no shisō* (*Thought in the Age of Reproduction*, 1971) (fig. 4 and 5). While the issues of reproduction, duplication, and rephotography were important for Takamatsu himself, his understanding of them diverged from the standard emphasis on repeatability, as is clear from remarks that appear in one of this magazine: "I strongly feel that no two things can be identical. Spatially, more than one thing cannot occupy the same place. Temporally, it may be extremely idealistic to want to confirm that each moment is different. But I feel that, for me, that is actually a visceral desire."[13]

Even if it is possible to make reproductions in large quantities, we cannot say that individual reproductions are identical. Takamatsu paradoxically sought individuality in reproductions premised on the possibility of multiplying the same object endlessly. He wanted reproductions to be considered not only as images but as individual objects that exist in actual time and space. He thus undemonstratively contests the prevailing point of view.

It should be noted that Takamatsu's reversed perspective of individuality in "the age of reproduction," which he called a "visceral desire," is shared with the ideas of observing the synchronicity between the object and the viewer and the site-specificity that he presented at his 1972 installation. He asserted that, in the arts, the action of looking at things must be unrepeatable in time and individuated in real space. The artist is further quoted in the same discussion:

> *The photograph is closer to sculpture than painting ... I think... . The photograph can be an image, a world, in numbers without end, within one situation. In the case of sculpture, it is not just the sculptor who creates the work; I think the viewer creates an original work, to a considerable extent. Which is to say that there are many angles from which to look at a sculpture, and each is meaningful. For a painting, there is only one angle, for one viewer, to look at it. Oil paintings mustn't be all shiny and hard to look at. For a painting, as an internal relationship, to the artist and to the viewer, one point is one point. To put it*

11 – The assumption that after São Paulo, Takamatsu created no new prints of any *Photograph* is inferred from the fact that prints made in 1973 were displayed in the 1977 exhibition *Malerei und Photographie im Dialog* [*Painting and Photography in Dialogue*] held at the Kunsthaus Zurich and, the same year, at *Documenta VI* in Kassel.
12 – Interest in reproduction and duplication was widespread in 1970–74, serving as a catalyst for the convergence of photography and contemporary art. Works on this theme by Akasegawa Genpei, Ishiko Junzō, and other artists appeared frequently in *Kikan shashin eizō* [*Photo Image*], while photographers such as Nakahira, Tōmatsu, and others had works published in *Bijutsu techō*. Nakahira was a key figure in the exchanges between photography and the fine arts. See also "Mono mina fukusei no jidai ni" [In the Age When Everything is a Reproduction], *Bijutsu techō* (September 1971) and "Media no kyōyū to fukusha no shisō [Sharing Media and the Idea of Duplication]," *Kikan firumu* [*Film*] 12 (July 1972).
13 – "Fukusha jidai no shigoto teidan: Terayama Shūji, Yokoo Tadanori, Takamatsu Jirō" [A Three-Person Discussion on Work in the Age of Duplication: Terayama Shūji, Yokoo Tadanori, and Takamatsu Jirō], in *Kikan Firumu* [*Film*] 12 (July 1972), 73.
14 Ibid., 95–96.

Fig. 3 – Takamatsu Jirō
Eigo no moji (English Words), 1970.
Courtesy of Mitsuda Yuri.

Fig. 4 – Takamatsu Jirō
Cover of Yoshida Mitsukuni, *Fukusei jidai no shisō* (*Thought in the Age of Reproduction*), 1971.
Courtesy of Mitsuda Yuri.

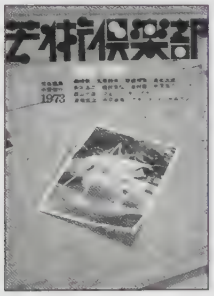


Fig. 5 – Takamatsu Jirō
Geijutsu kurabu (*Art Club*), November 1973. Special issue on Memory, edited by Nakahara Yusuke.
Courtesy of Mitsuda Yuri.

> *in a rather extreme way, in the case of a sculpture, an infinite number of points multiply, at least to the viewers. I feel the photograph is extremely similar.*[14]

What multiplies infinitely is the individual "experience of looking at a sculpture," the individual "seen sculpture" that changes its aspect as the viewer moves around it. The photograph likewise may generate individual "seen images," both through shifts in spectatorial position and through changes brought about through duplication or rephotography. It is possible to propose an infinite number of viewpoints, and thus, "no two are alike." Through statements such as these, Takamatsu set himself against from the conventional embrace of reproducibilty in the early 1970s and staked out an original position on this important subject.

In the *Photographs* completed in 1973, the works regarded as Photograph A are clearly treated as individual specimens. The Photograph B images present for view the private spaces surrounding the Photograph A images; they thereby call forth something of the presence of the photographer, and by analogy, of each and every viewer of *Photograph*. The non-repeatability that is an inextricable part of the individual act of viewing a photograph has the site specificity of a private place and instantiates individuality in the "age of reproduction."

Akasegawa Genpei (1937–2014)

Born in Yokohama, Akasegawa Katsuhiko used a pseudonymous first name, Genpei, from his entry on the Japanese art scene in the late 1950s. Initially involved in the Neo-Dada movement, he went on to found the Hi Red Center collective with Takamatsu Jirō and Nakanishi Natsuyuki in 1963. This short-lived group (disbanded in 1964) carried out interventions in Tokyo, drawing attention to postwar issues such as immigrant labor and the privatization of urban space, while seeking to break down boundaries between art and life. For an exhibition held in Tokyo in 1963, Akasegawa produced his most notorious piece: an invitation with a monochrome reproduction of a 1,000-yen note on the front and the exhibition information printed on the reverse. Akasegawa continued to produce blatantly fake currency the following year, soon attracting the attention of the authorities and, ultimately, a conviction for counterfeiting in 1967, for which he received a three-month prison sentence despite two appeals. A multidisciplinary artist whose work spans illustration, photography, and conceptual art, Akasegawa was also an award-winning novelist under the pen name Otsuji Katsuhiko.

Araki Nobuyoshi (born 1940)

Raised in the traditional *shitamachi* area of Tokyo, Araki began his photographic career with the Dentsu advertising agency (1963–72). In 1970, using the agency's Xerox machine, he produced twenty-five photo albums, most in editions of seventy, which he distributed to critics, friends, and recipients selected randomly from the phonebook. These books have much in common with the work of Provoke, in their "aesthetics of poverty" and their linkage of social and sexual daring to a sense of anomie. The following year he self-published *Senchimentaru na tabi* (*Sentimental Journey*), a documentation of his honeymoon with his wife Yōko and the first of several projects in which he developed the idea of "I-photography," a confessional, diaristic form based on the *shi-shōsetsu* (*I-novel*) literary style popular in early twentieth-century Japan. Araki has consistently explored the themes of the body, sex, and death, through a vast body of work that combines nudes with photographs of flowers, food, and his native city. His explicit and eroticized nudes are often posed according to the Japanese bondage practice of *kinbaku*, intended by the photographer as a challenge to modern Japanese sexual conventions. With over 450 published photobooks, Araki is also one of the most prolific artists in this form.

Enokura Kōji (1942–1995)

Enokura Kōji was associated with Mono-ha, a group of artists known for using basic natural and industrial materials to create pieces focusing on direct experience or phenomenological encounter rather than representational symbolism. After obtaining undergraduate and graduate degrees in oil painting between 1962 and 1968, Enokura turned to installation art and photography. He initially used photography to document an ephemeral piece. *Shisshitsu* (*Quality of Wetness*, 1970), a stain simply created in the earth or on concrete through water or oil—a technique he would use throughout the rest of his career. Enokura often emphasized the relationship between the body and surrounding space, and he found the camera to be an ideal instrument. In his *P.W.* (*Photographic Works*) series, titled in English in the original, the artist deployed photography as an auxiliary to performance, recording gestures of hurling or

throwing, as well as the ephemeral forms created by water puddled on the floor, or the nearly invisible concavity made by a body impressed upon a mattress.

Hamaguchi Takashi (born 1931)

Born in Shizuoka Prefecture, Hamaguchi Takashi first worked in a photographic supply store before opening a camera store in Yokohama. He then decided to pursue photography himself, registering with the photojournalist association established by the *Mainichi* newspaper in 1956. He nevertheless chose to work as a freelance photographer in order to overcome conventional objectivity and engage deeply with his chosen subjects. Throughout his work, Hamaguchi's photographic approach places the viewer in the heart of the action. The socio-political struggles of postwar Japan became his primary focus and in the 1960s and 1970s he photographed protests taking place around the country, in particular those against the new Tokyo international airport being built in Sanrizuka. In the late 1970s, Hamaguchi published two books focused on the Sanrizuka protests: *Document Sanrizuka jūnen no kiroku* (*Document Sanrizuka Ten-Year Record*, 1977) and *The Shudders of Narita Airport* (1978).

Hamaya Hiroshi (1915–1999)

Born in Tokyo, Hamaya Hiroshi trained in aerial photography in the 1930s. In 1940 he began the series *Yukiguni* (*Snow Land*), which in 1956 became his first book, focusing on folklore and daily life in the remote northern mountains of Niigata Prefecture. He pursued this theme with *Ura Nihon* (*Japan's Back Coast*), which was shot in the 1950s in farming communities on the coast of the Sea of Japan. In 1960 Hamaya's work took a radical turn when he decided to cover demonstrations in Tokyo against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty, or Anpo. Hamaya was personally sympathetic to the protesters and he photographed the demonstrations in great detail, publishing a book of his images, *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*, 1960), only a few weeks after the protests ended in failure. Disillusioned with the outcome, Hamaya turned back to the natural landscape, which remained his focus for the rest of his career.

Hijikata Tatsumi (1928–1986)

Born in Akita Prefecture, in the north of Japan, Hijikata Tatsumi moved to Tokyo where he founded the avant-garde dance movement known as *butoh*. As developed in the late 1950s, *ankoku butō* (dance of darkness) consciously combined elements of Western modern dance with Japanese aesthetics. The first Butoh performance, *Kinjiki* (*Forbidden Colors*), staged in Tokyo in 1959, was adapted from Mishima Yukio's 1951 novel of the same name about male homosexual love. Hijikata frequently drew inspiration from other artists and was particularly interested in the relationship between performance and photography, working with Fukase Masahisa, Ishiguro Kenji, William Klein, Nakatani Tadao, Takanashi Yutaka, and Tōmatsu Shōmei. His best known collaboration took place with Hosoe Eikō for the latter's series *Kamaitachi*, for which Hijikata embodied the weasel-like *kamaitachi* demon in an evocation of the photographer's childhood wartime memories. At the age of 45 he stopped performing, devoting himself thereafter to writing and teaching.

Hikosaka Naoyoshi (born 1946)

Born in Tokyo, Hikosaka Naoyoshi studied oil painting at Tama Art University in the late 1960s. As a student, he became involved in protests against the second renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty and in other student protests organized by the left-wing militant group Zenkyōtō. During this time Hikosaka helped to found the radical art and political group Bikyōtō (Artists' Joint-Struggle Council), which opposed the institutionalization of art.

In 1971, the group entered a second phase under the name Bikyōtō Revolution Committee with a series of individual performances staged outside institutional art settings. For *Floor Event*, Hikosaka poured white latex across the floor of his apartment, documenting it drying with a series of photographs taken over a ten-day period. Hikosaka's debut piece laid the foundations for much of his theoretical and discursive work.

Hirata Minoru (born 1930)

Tokyo-born Hirata Minoru worked for decades as a freelance photojournalist. He first came into contact with the Tokyo avant-garde in the late 1950s through the work of Shinohara Ushio, one of the founders of the Neo-Dada movement in Japan. The two became close and Hirata began to document the artist's performances for his own purposes, independent of professional assignments. Hirata went on to photograph major avant-garde figures including Yoko Ono, Nam June Paik, and Hi Red Center and Zero Dimension collectives. His distinctive and dynamic photographs convey Hirata's self-description as a "co-conspirator" in these movements. Hirata is also known for his work on the complicated history of the American-occupied island of Okinawa, which he has photographed regularly since his first visit there in 1967.

Hosoe Eikō (born 1933)

Originally from Yonezawa in the northern prefecture of Yamagata, Hosoe has lived and worked in Tokyo since his graduation from the Tokyo College of Photography in 1954. In 1959, alongside Kawada Kikuji, Narahara Ikko, Sato Akira, Tanno Akira, and Tōmatsu Shōmei, Hosoe helped to found the Vivo collective—a short-lived group that aimed to push at claims to objectivity in conventional photojournalism, and to develop a less "even-handed," more openly evocative form of documentary photography. From his first series *Otoko to onna* (*Man and Woman*, 1961), Hosoe's work has involved collaborations with other artists, culminating in some of the outstanding photography books of the 1960s. For *Barakei* (*Ordeal by Roses*, 1963) Hosoe produced a series of provocative portraits of the celebrated but controversial writer Mishima Yukio. He also collaborated regularly with the two major figures of the avant-garde performance art of *butoh*, Hijikata Tatsumi and Ohno Kazuo. In the series *Kamaitachi* (1969), Hosoe and Hijikata returned to their native Tōhoku region to re-enact Hosoe's childhood memories through a mix of performance, documentary, and improvisation.

Kawada Kikuji (born 1933)

Born in Ibaraki prefecture, Kawada Kikuji began his photography career as a staff photographer at the Shinchosha publishing house. In 1959 he left to set up the Vivo agency with Hosoe Eikō and Tōmatsu Shōmei, among others, seeking to develop a more expressive approach to documentary photography. Kawada's first major project, *Chizu* (*The Map*, 1965) combined images of the Atomic Bomb Dome (now the Hiroshima Peace Memorial) with symbolic photographs addressing the physical and psychological ruins of World War II and the subsequent American occupation. In 1961 Kawada exhibited photographs from the series at the Fuji Photo Salon in Tokyo; he issued excerpts in magazines but waited to publish the work in book form until August 6, 1965, twenty years to the day after the bombing of Hiroshima. Designed by Sugiura Kōhei, *The Map* is now recognized as one of the most important photography publications of the postwar period.

Kawanaka Nobuhiro (born 1941)

Kawanaka Nobuhiro began making experimental 8 mm films in the early 1960s. In 1968 he co-founded the Japan Filmmakers Cooperative, a national distributor for independent and experimental films. After leaving the cooperative in 1969, Kawanaka went on to co-found the Underground Center through which he organized regular film screenings. The Underground Center changed its name to the Image Forum in 1977, housing a film school and a research center for independent film. In 1971, Kawanaka opened a cinematheque in Terayama Shūji's Tenjō Sajiki theater and in the following year he became a key member of Video Hiroba, an "open space for video" collective of artists and experimental filmmakers that was formed in 1972. The founding editor of the film magazine *Monthly Image Forum*, Kawanaka has directed over 100 films, with a focus on the relationship between the individual and the moving image.

Kitai Kazuo (born 1944)

Born in Anshan, Manchuria, under Japanese occupation, Kitai Kazuo returned with his family to Tokyo at the end of World War II. While studying photography at Nihon University College of

Art (1963–65) Kitai began photographing the protests that were gripping Japan at the time. In 1965 he self-published *Teikō* (*Resistance*), an investigation of group dynamics as played out in recent student protests around an American naval base in Yokosuka. Pictures of clashes with the police alternated with scenes of performances, hanging out, or simply the detritus accumulated during long sit-ins; the book's 12-inch-square size came from the standard measurements for LP records, while the final photograph shows a young girl, the generation of the future, alone on a store-lined street in town. Kitai's gritty aesthetic became characteristic of Japanese protest photography in the years that followed. Kitai shifted his attention to the suburban Tokyo village of Sanrizuka, where students had joined farmers in opposition to the proposed Narita airport. In 1971 he published *Sanrizuka 1969–1971*, intent once again on showing not just specific clashes but larger structures of community, pressured and shifting with the times. Following this project, Kitai chose to leave the turbulence of "districts choked with the passions and energies of youth," and focused instead on traditional life in rural Japan. He subsequently returned to city subjects, however, and began publishing a column, "Walking with Leica," in *Nippon Camera* magazine. In 2015, Kitai published a new set of images from *Resistance*, now in color.

Kurihara Tatsuo (born 1937)

Kurihara Tatsuo joined the student photography club at Waseda University, in his native Tokyo, during the height of protests against the first renewal of Anpo. In 1960 he introduced Hamaya Hiroshi to leaders of the radical student organization Zengakuren, and assisted with photography for the book *Record of Anger and Sadness*, which Hamaya published that year. After graduating from Waseda, Kurihara joined the *Asahi Shimbun* as a staff photographer, leaving to go freelance in 1967. He developed a strong interest in Okinawa and in 1970 published a book of his photographs from the islands, *Shashin hōkoku Okinawa 1961–1970* (*Okinawa Photoreportage 1961–1970*). He later became a keen biographer, notably of the photographer Frank S. Matsura, a Japanese immigrant to the United States who had established a photography studio in Okanogan, Washington, in the early twentieth century.

Moriyama Daidō (born 1938)

Born in the town of Ikeda near Osaka, Moriyama Daidō began his professional life as a graphic designer. He apprenticed in photographer Iwamiya Takeji's studio in 1961, but soon moved to Tokyo to join the photographic collective Vivo. When the group dissolved, he became Hosoe Eikō's assistant, working with him on the series *Barakei* (*Ordeal by Roses*). Working in a gritty, apparently casual style, Moriyama emerged as a leading voice in the second half of the 1960s, especially after publication of his first book *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (*Japan: A Photo Theater*) in 1968. His "cast" included performers, but also bohemians, prostitutes, and other social types marginalized in Japan's decade of "economic miracles" and its attendant social conformism. Throughout the following year, Moriyama published a portfolio in each issue of the monthly magazine *Asahi Camera*, collectively titled *Akushidento* (*Accident)*, in which he tested various kinds of "accidental" imagery: appropriated images, pictures of mayhem, voyeurism. At the request of critic and photographer Nakahira Takuma, whom he had first met in 1964, Moriyama participated in the second and third issues of *Provoke*, both published in 1969 as well. He also took part with Nakahira in a terrifically important discussion about the meanings and uses of photography, published in multiple versions between 1969 and 1972. The final publication of their talk came in 1972, in *Shashin yo sayōnara* (*Farewell Photography*), a book that pushed photography to the limits of legibility and coherence. After a hiatus that lasted for nearly a decade, Moriyama resumed photography in the early 1980s, and has remained prolific until this day, with over 100 solo exhibitions and over 150 books to his name.

Nagahama Osamu (born 1941)

Born in Nagoya, Nagahama Osamu studied sculpture at Tama Art University. In 1964 he entered the Ad Center advertising agency, where he worked in the photography department under Tatsuki Yoshihiro. He became a freelancer in the following year, focusing on fashion, advertisement, and

portraits. Nagahama became interested in American culture after encountering soldiers from a US military base in his hometown of Nagoya. At the height of the Vietnam war, he traveled to Okinawa to document how the US used its military bases to stage the war. His photographs made in the *are-bure-boke* style associated with Provoke were subsequently published in *Atsuku nagai yoru no shima* (*The Island of the Long Hot Night*, 1972), a vehement critique of the constant US presence on the island since the end of the Second World War. Primarily recognized for his portraiture, Nagahama has maintained a strong interest in American culture throughout his career, publishing the books *Jigoku no tenshi 1968–1980 New York San Francisco* (*Hells Angels 1968–1980 New York San Francisco*, 1981) on the Hells Angels motorcycle gang and *My Blues Road* (1992) on American blues musicians.

Nakahira Takuma (1938–2015)

Born in 1938 in Tokyo's Harajuku district, Nakahira Takuma graduated from the city's University of Foreign Studies, where he concentrated on Latin American independence movements and supposedly offered his services to the revolutionary government in Cuba. In 1964–65, as an editor at the leftist cultural magazine, *Gendai no me* (*Contemporary Eye*), Nakahira met the photographer Tōmatsu Shōmei; the two became quite friendly for several years, and Tōmatsu encouraged Nakahira both to publish photographs in the magazine and to begin making his own. Nakahira embarked on a prolific double career as photographer and cultural critic, publishing portfolios of street pictures as well as reviews on subjects in film and photography for various left-oriented magazines. By 1968, when he co-founded the magazine *Provoke* with Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, and Taki Kōji, Nakahira had become a widely respected voice of his generation. *Provoke* made manifest—without resolving them—the complicated relations between photography and language, and between art and political resistance, in a way that galvanized a generation of photographers while contributing to far wider cultural discussions. In 1970 Nakahira published his first book of photography, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* (*For a Language to Come*). The book was received as a milestone and marks Nakahira's culminating involvement in the Provoke movement. In 1971 he participated in the Seventh Paris Biennale, with *Circulation: Date, Place, Events*, for which the photographer took pictures in the city and the rest of the Biennale all day long, then printed and processed them each night and immediately pinned up the loose, curling prints as part of an ever-changing installation. The attempt to fix an image in any form—as a book, an exhibition, a statement of ideas—were thoroughly questioned. In the essay collection *Naze shokubutsu zukan ka* (*Why an Illustrated Botanical Dictionary?*, 1973), Nakahira developed a new line of questioning that led him in parallel to adopt a prosaic approach in color photography. Ever-evolving, he burned his early prints and negatives in 1973. He also pursued other experiments in his own work, despite a debilitating coma that lasted for nearly a year in 1977. Nakahira enjoyed a retrospective exhibition of his career at the Yokohama Art Museum in 2003.

Nakanishi Natsuyuki (born 1935)

A Tokyo native, Nakanishi Natsuyuki obtained a degree in oil painting from the Tokyo National University of Arts and Music in 1958. His artistic career took off the following year with the series of paintings *Rhyme*. Alongside Takamatsu Jirō and Akasegawa Genpei he was a founding member of the Hi Red Center group (1962–64), which staged a number of anti-institutional happenings in Tokyo locations. One of these was *Shelter Plan*, an action that took place overnight at the Imperial Hotel on January 26–27, 1964. At that event, which simultaneously parodied the growth in luxury real estate and revived memories of nuclear holocaust, Nakanishi showed life-size cyanotype photographs that he had first made for another satirical project, *Catalogue of All Boys* that made young men into consumer goods. In 1965, a collaboration with the leading figures of *butoh* dance, Hijikata Tatsumi and Ohno Kazuo, had a major impact on Nakanishi's thinking about the relationship between a space, a painting, and the viewer. Nakanishi has continued to make his map-like paintings, complemented by explanatory notes and diagrams, through to the present.

Okada Takahiko (1939–1997)

The poet and leading art critic Okada Takahiko met Nakahira Takuma in 1965, and soon turned to photographic subjects; he contributed to Tōmatsu Shōmei's book *Nihon* (1967), and in that same year published, together with Nakahira and Taki Kōji, in the important student magazine *Foto Critica*. Okada then joined the two others to help found the group Provoke. Okada contributed to all three issues of their eponymous magazine with both poetry and essays, and he edited a special issue on photography for the prestigious fine arts journal *Bijutsu techō* in December 1968. In *Provoke* Okada developed a non-linear style of argument in essays on erotics, personal liberty, and mental oppression that matched the magazine's images in subjects and approach—although Okada himself never published any photographs. In 1971, as the commissioner for Japanese entries at the Seventh Paris Biennale, Okada selected Nakahira and Enokura Kōji as participants. His main focus, however, remained poetry, and Okada published nine anthologies of his poems; he is remembered in addition for his pivotal role at *Doramu kan* (*Drum*), a leading poetry magazine of the 1960s.

Takamatsu Jirō (1936–1998)

A native of Tokyo, Takamatsu Jirō became one of the most influential artists and theorists in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s. He worked in painting, photography, sculpture, drawing, and performance, and drew for his ideas on Dada, surrealism, minimalism, and conceptual art. Alongside artists Akasegawa Genpei and Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Takamatsu founded the Hi Red Center collective (1962–64; see the biography for Nakanishi). Takamatsu, as well as Enokura Kōji, were drawn into the orbit of theorist and artist Lee Ufan around 1970, and described as belonging to the tendency known as Mono-ha, or "School of Things." Although he participated in irreverent actions and worked with raw materials, Takamatsu was essentially a studied, philosophical thinker in art. His *Shadow Paintings* involved reproducing as painting the photographic likeness of projected shadows—which in one version visitors could create themselves as an ephemeral performance. For *Light and Shadow* (1970), with beautiful simplicity Takamatsu hid a light bulb behind a metal slab. These abstract preoccupations surfaced again in *Shashin no shashin* (*Photograph*, 1972–73), a series of more than fifty works in which Takamatsu staged the re-photography of existing photographic prints, placed casually on floors or tacked on walls and pictured from an angle that maximized reflections: one can think of the image within the image but it is hard to see.

Takanashi Yutaka (born 1935)

Born in what has become Tokyo's Shinjuku district, Takanashi Yutaka studied photography at Nihon University before attending the Kuwasawa Design School under the influential teacher and multi-media artist Ōtsuji Kiyoji from 1959 to 1961. He began his career as a professional photographer at Nippon Design Center, one of Japan's leading advertising agencies, where he won numerous awards for his commercial work. In 1966 *Camera Mainichi* published *Tokyo-jin* (*Tokyoites*), a series of photographs in public spaces in which Takanashi made plain the dissolving social bonds and entropic energy of the new Tokyo. In 1968 Takanashi was invited by Nakahira Takuma to take part in *Provoke* magazine. He contributed images from runway shows or fashion shoots that seemed odd or otherworldly rather than commercial. Takanashi combined these pictures with *Tokyoites* for his first book, *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*, 1974), which may be regarded as the last epilogue to Provoke. Tokyo has remained Takanashi's central subject through a series of projects dealing with the constant transformation of his native city.

Taki Kōji (1928–2011)

Taki Kōji, an architecture critic and graphic designer, became involved in photography at a number of levels in the 1960s and early 1970s: critic, theorist, editor, publisher, professor, and, for several years at least, photographer. After gaining a degree in art history at the University of Tokyo, Taki opened a design firm in the early 1960s. He then took up a series of teaching positions before serving from 1966 as the principal researcher for *100 Years of Photography: A History of Japanese Photographic Expression*, a major exhibition held in Tokyo in 1968. Analyzing the process of conceiving a history of Japanese photography led Taki, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, and

others to contribute to *Foto Critica*, an incisive student magazine, in 1967 and 1968; and then to help found Provoke, an association that lasted from 1968 until 1970. Taki designed the group's publications, and he published in them both photographs and lengthy essays, particularly for the final venture, *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* (*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty*, 1970). In 1972 he published his first book, *Kotoba no nai shikō* (*Wordless Thought: Notes on Things, Space, and Image*). As a writer and theorist he concentrated on subjects in urbanism but also addressed the Japanese monarchy, decorative arts, and sports.

Terayama Shūji (1935–1983)

Born in Aomori Prefecture at the foot of the "haunted" Mount Osore, Terayama Shūji liked to recall that he had a childhood rich with the myths and legends of the region. After moving to Tokyo in 1954, he began studying at Waseda University, but was diagnosed with nephritis (the disease which later caused his death) and was hospitalized in Shinjuku almost continuously from 1955 to 1958. Prolific and multi-faceted, and exceedingly talented at courting attention and controversy, Terayama became a central figure in the Japanese counter-culture of the 1960s and 1970s. Among his many interests were poetry, theater, and film; songs and lyrics; and boxing and horse racing. His Tenjō Sajiki (Peanut Gallery) troupe, begun in 1967 and dissolved only at his death, mixed grotesquerie, erotic provocation, and trenchant wit in performances that repeatedly brought theater into the street or the audience. Terayama collaborated with many artists including Moriyama Daidō and the graphic designer Yokoo Tadanori.

Tōmatsu Shōmei (1930–2012)

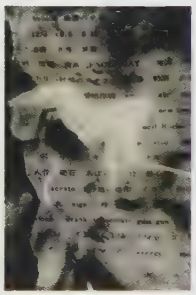
A native of Nagoya in Aichi Prefecture, Tōmatsu Shōmei began his photographic career in 1954 as a staff photographer for the Iwanami Photo Library. As a freelancer from the late 1950s, Tōmatsu turned his attention to the impact of American occupation, a theme that would run throughout much of his work, notably in a body of photographs that he came to call *Chewing Gum and Chocolate*. The social impact of US military bases, and the brutal human impact of the atomic bomb, became major subjects in his work in books such as *"11-ji 02-fun" Nagasaki* (*Nagasaki 11:02*, 1966), *Nihon* (1967), and *Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa* (1969). Active in magazines, Tōmatsu also took up historical research, helping to prepare a major survey exhibition on Japanese photography in 1966–68 (see biography for Taki Kōji); he taught as well at Tama School of Art. In the early 1970s Tōmatsu continued his teaching, outside of established university structures, on the island of Okinawa, where he had partially relocated after the Okinawan islands reverted to Japan in May 1972. Okinawa became another major subject for Tōmatsu and he produced work on the island's unique landscapes and rich folklore, such as *Taiyō no empitsu* (*The Pencil of the Sun*, 1975). From the early 1960s, Tōmatsu consistently put in pictures the deep causes and effects of wholesale cultural transformation in Japan; as such, he became almost dauntingly influential for the members of Provoke. Tōmatsu innovated on the structure of photo-essays, involving competing voices and encouraging tension rather than resolution of difficult social subjects. He also wrote extensively in his own photobooks, testing a range of literary voices, and thereby established a new creative role model as photographer-commentator that shaped a generation as well.

Watanabe Hitomi (born 1939)

Shortly after graduating from the Tokyo College of Photography in 1968, Watanabe Hitomi began photographing the streets of Shinjuku in Tokyo, becoming involved with the Zenkyōtō leftist student movement. She joined the student protesters on university campuses, photographing protests from inside the barricades, notably when riot police stormed Yasuda Hall at University of Tokyo to rid it of occupying students. Watanabe was among the few female photographers to cover these events. Many of her protest images were published in *Kaihoku '68* (*Liberated Area '68*, 1968) alongside photographs by other members of the Student Power League of Tokyo. As the student movement lost momentum in the 1970s, Watanabe left Japan to travel to Southeast and South Asia, particularly India and Nepal. Since then her work has increasingly focused on the natural world, reflecting her affinity for Buddhist and Hindu mythology.

Note: Height precedes width. Most publications printed in rotogravure. If no print date is indicated, a photograph is assumed to have been printed in the same year as it was taken. Items without a credit line are primary texts translated into English in this book.

Front and back covers
Tōmatsu Shōmei
Henshūsha Nakahira Takuma, Tōkyō, Shinjuku (*Editor, Nakahira Takuma, Shinjuku, Tokyo*), 1964
Gelatin silver print, printed c. 2003
27.4 × 37.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Comer Foundation Fund, 2014.32



1– Kawada Kikuji
Chizu (*The Map*)
Book, published by Bijutsu shuppan-sha, Tokyo, 1965
192 pages, 23 × 15 cm
Private collection

2 – Hamaya Hiroshi
Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku (*Record of Anger and Sadness*)
Book, published by Kawade Shobō Shinsha, Tokyo, 1960
100 pages, 25.6 × 18 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Hamaya Hiroshi

Primary Text

3 – Hamaya Hiroshi, "Kokusai kyōsan seiryoku" (International Communist Force) in *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (*Record of Anger and Sadness*), Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1960.

4 – *Nawabashigo to tetsukabuto / Shufu to seikatsu rōso 318 nichi tōsō shashinshū* (*Rope Ladder and Iron Helmet / Collection of Photographs from the 318 Days of Struggle by Shufu to Seikatsu Trade Union*)
Book, published by Pen Poporo, Tokyo, 1960
96 pages, 26 × 18.2 cm
Private collection

5 – Kitai Kazuo
Teikoh (*Resistance*)
Book, published by Mirai-sha, Tokyo, 1965
64 pages, 29.3 × 29.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

6 – All-Japan Students' Photo Association
Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai / Kōgai kyampēn shashinshū (*In This Land We Have No Country / Public Nuisance Campaign Photography Collection*)
Book, published by All-Japan Students' Photo Association, Pollution Campaign Committee, Tokyo, 1970
88 pages, 21 × 14.8 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

7 – The Committee for the Publication of 10.21
69 11/13-17 Satō Hōbei Soshi Tōsō (*69 11/13-17 Fight to Stop Satō from Visiting America*)
Book, published by The Committee for the Publication of 10.21, Tokyo, 1969
64 pages, 20.9 × 15.0 cm
Private collection

Tōmatsu Shōmei

Primary Text

8 – Tōmatsu Shōmei, excerpt from *I Am a King*
Tokyo: Shashin Hyōron-sha, 1972

9 – Watanabe Hitomi et al. (Students' Power League of Tokyo)
Kaihōku '68 (*Liberated Area '68*)
Book, published by Japan University Students' Power League, Tokyo, 1968
92 pages, 18.2 × 12.8 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Fukushima Tatsuo

Primary Text

10 – Fukushima Tatsuo, *Sekai ninshiki no hōhō* (*A Method for Understanding the World*), in *Ashibumi hikōki* (*Treadle Airplanes*), Tokyo: Meiji University Camera Club, 1966

11 – Watanabe Hitomi et al.
Tōdai zenkyōtō (*The All-Campus Joint Struggle at Tokyo University*)
Book, published by Sanichi shobō, Tokyo, 1969
238 pages, 22.8 × 15.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

12 – All University Joint-Struggle Committee of Nihon University
Nichidaitōsō (*Nihon University Protests*)
Book, published by Godosangyo-shupanbu, Tokyo, 1969
100 pages, 29 × 22 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

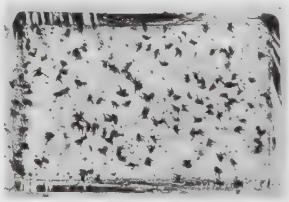
Nihon University Protests

Primary Text

13 – Nichidaitōsō (Nihon University Protests), "Afterword"
Edited by Nihon University All-Campus Joint Struggle League Secretariat
Tokyo: Gōdō Sangyō kabushikigaisha shuppan-bu, 1969

14 – *10.21 to ha nanika* (*What is 10.21?*)
Book, published by The '10.21 to ha nanika' Publishing Committee, Tokyo, 1969
96 pages, 21 × 15 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

15 – Fukushima Kikujirō
Gasu Dan no Tanima Kara no Hōkoku (*Report from the Valley of Tear Gas*)
Book, published by M.P.S. Shuppanbu, Tokyo, 1969
134 pages, 24.1 × 19 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart



16 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Ie 5, Kumamoto, Amakusa Shimoshima (*House 5, Shimo Island, Amakusa, Kumamoto*), 1959
Gelatin silver print, printed 1972
21.2 × 30.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Comer Foundation Fund, 2014.27

17 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Untitled (*Yokosuka*), from the series *Chūingamu to chokorēto* (*Chewing Gum and Chocolate*), 1966
Gelatin silver print, printed later
27.4 × 30.2 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

18 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Shiro, Tōkyō (*Castle, Tokyo*), 1963
Gelatin silver print, printed 1976
27.5 × 40 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of Yasuhiro Ishimoto in memory of Mary Morris Stein, 2014.1068

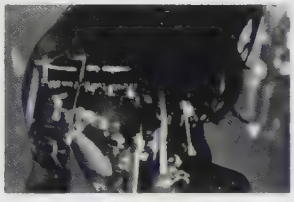
Tōmatsu Shōmei

Primary Text

23 – Tōmatsu Shōmei, "Nichiroku" (Diary [of 1967–68]), *I Am a King*, Tokyo: Shashin Hyōron-sha, 1972

19 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Purotesuto, Tōkyō, Shinjuku (*Protest, Shinjuku, Tokyo*), 1969
Gelatin silver print, printed later
30.2 × 41 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

24 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa
Book, published by Shaken, Tokyo, 1969
96 pages, 20.9 × 26 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart



20 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Sukurīn, Tōkyō, Shinjuku (*Screen, Shinjuku, Tokyo*), 1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 1980
21.3 × 32.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Comer Foundation Fund, 2014.34

25 – *Shashinshū Okinawa / Hyakuman ken'min no kunō to teikō* (*Photographs of Okinawa / One Million People's Distress and Resistance*)
Book, published by Shinjidaisha, Tokyo, 1970
84 pages, 25.7 × 18.5 cm
Private collection

Okada Takahiko

Primary Text

21 – Okada Takahiko, "Asufaruto" (Asphalt), in Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Nippon* (*Japan*), Tokyo: Shaken, 1967

26 – Kurihara Tatsuo
Okinawa 1961-1970: Shashin hōkoku (*Okinawa 1961-1970: Photoreportage*)
Book, published by Asahi Shimbun-sha, Tokyo, 1970
211 pages, 25.5 × 18 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

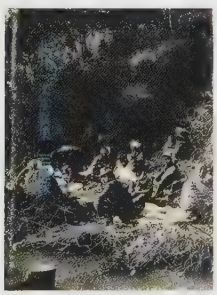
22 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Asufaruto, Tōkyō (*Asphalt, Tokyo*), 1960
Gelatin silver print, printed 1970s
23 × 22 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2014.1070

27 – Takuma Akio, Iida Takao et al.
Non Vol. 2*: Okinawa wa niga-yo* (*Okinawa is a Bitter World*)
Magazine, Gendaishokan, Tokyo, 1970
68 pages, 29.5 × 22.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

28 – *4.28 Tsubuse Anpo* (*4.28 Okinawa Struggle*), 1969
Poster (offset lithograph), published by Sind, Tokyo
107.3 × 77.2 cm
Private collection

29 – Hamaguchi Takashi
Okinawa Day, Ochanomizu nite, 1969 nen 4 gatsu 28 nichi (*Okinawa Day, in Ochanomizu, April 28, 1969*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
22.2 × 30.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.110

30 – Nagahama Osamu
Atsuku Nagai Yoru no Shima (*The Island of Long Hot Nights*)
Book, published by Haga Shoten, Tokyo, 1972
144 pages, 18.2 × 26 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart



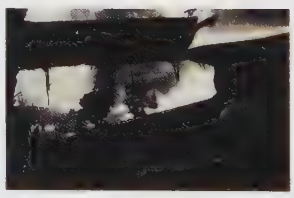
31 – Kitai Kazuo
Sanrizuka
Book, published by Nora-sha , Tokyo, 1971
184 pages, 24.3 × 18.1 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

32 – Kitai Kazuo
Iwasawa-san ikka (*Iwasawa Family*), from the series *Sanrizuka*, 1970
Gelatin silver print
18.7 × 28.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of the artist, 2012.217

33 – Kitai Kazuo
Miharitō (*Lookout Post*), from the series *Sanrizuka*, 1971
Gelatin silver print
18.6 × 28.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Kenneth and Christine Tanaka and Photography Purchase Funds, 2012.208

34 – Kitai Kazuo
Hantai nōmin to kidōtai (*Farmer Protesters and Riot Police*), from the series *Sanrizuka*, 1971
Gelatin silver print, printed 2012
18.6 × 28.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of the artist, 2012.219

35 – Kitai Kazuo
Kidōtai no hōsui ni tēkōsuru nōfu (*Female Farmer Taking a Stand Against the Riot Police Water Cannon*), from the series *Sanrizuka*, 1970
Gelatin silver print
18.7 × 28.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Kenneth and Christine Tanaka and Photography Purchase Funds, 2012.206



36 – Kitai Kazuo
Daishikkō no hi (*The Day of Forced Eviction*), from the series *Sanrizuka*, 1971
Gelatin silver print
18.7 × 28.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Kenneth and Christine Tanaka Purchase Funds, 2012.207

37 – Mitome Tadao
Sanrizuka- moeru hokusō daichi / dokyumento 1966-71 (Sanrizuka-Hokusō Plateau on Fire / Document 1966-71)
Book, published by Shinsensha, Tokyo, 1971
192 pages, 23.7 × 17.7 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

38 – Unknown
Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport, c. 1969
Gelatin silver print
18.1 × 24.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.40.269

43 – Unknown
Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport, c. 1969
Gelatin silver print
17.1 × 24.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.40.364

39 – Unknown
Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport, c. 1969
Gelatin silver print
24.1 × 16.1 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.40.264

44 – Sanrizuka Shashin no kai (Sanrizuka Photography Association)
Untitled
Book, published by the photographers, c. 1978
42 pages, 13 × 9.2 cm
Private collection

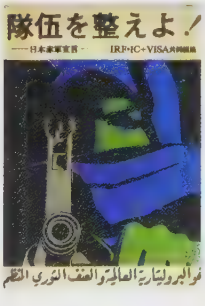
40 – Unknown
Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport, c. 1969
Gelatin silver print
24.6 × 16.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.40.296

45 – Sanrizuka Shashin no kai (Sanrizuka Photography Association)
Untitled
Book, c. 1978
26 pages, 13 × 9.2 cm
Private collection

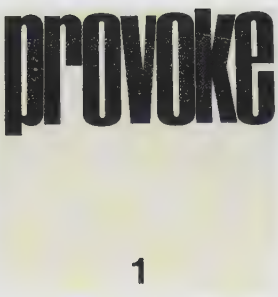
41 – Unknown
Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport, c. 1969
Gelatin silver print
24.7 × 18.1 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.40.436

46 – Iwabuchi Kazuhide
Hokusō-Daichi 1971 (*Hokusō Plateau 1971*)
Book, published by The Committee for the Publication of Hokusō-Daichi 1971, 1971
72 pages, 19.1 × 19.1 cm
Private collection

42 – Unknown
Protests surrounding the construction of Narita airport, c. 1969
Gelatin silver print
23.2 × 15.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.40.471



47 – Nihon Sekigun (United Red Army)
Taigo o totonoeyo! Nihon Sekigun sengen (*Prepare to Form Ranks! Japan Red Army Declaration*)
Book, published by Sashō Shuppan, Tokyo, 1975
192 pages, 21.5 × 15 cm
Private collection



48 – Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, Taki Kōji
Purovōku: shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki shiryō (*Provoke: Provocative Materials For Thought*), no. 1
Magazine, published by Purovōku-sha, Tokyo, November 1968
70 pages, 21.1 × 21.1 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Taki Kōji

Primary Text

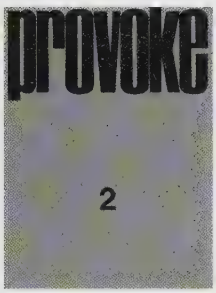
53 – Taki Kōji, "Me to me narazaru mono" (Eyes and Things That Are Not Eyes), excerpts and summaries from *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero: shashin to gengo no shisō* (*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty: Thoughts on Photography and Language*), edited by Taki Kōji and Nakahira Takuma, Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1970

Nakahira Takuma

Primary Text

49 – Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, Taki Kōji
"Preface"
Provoke, no. 1
Drafters: Nakahira Takuma, Taki Kōji
November 1968

54 – Nakahira Takuma
"Shūdensha" (Last Train)
Asahi Camera
Magazine, published by Asahi Shimbun-sha, Tokyo, October 1968
25.7 × 18 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries



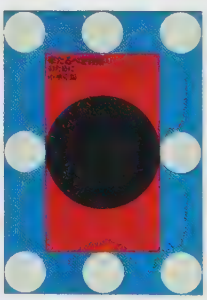
50 – Moriyama Daidō, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, Taki Kōji
Purovōku: shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki shiryō (*Provoke: Provocative Materials For Thought*), no. 2
Magazine, published by Purovōku-sha, Tokyo, 1969
110 pages, 24.3 × 18 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Nakahira Takuma

Primary Text

55 – Nakahira Takuma, "William Klein," *Foto Critica* 1 (1967): 30–36 (rev. in Nakahira Takuma, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* (*For a Language to Come*), Tokyo: Fūdosha, 1971)

51 – Moriyama Daidō, Gōzō Yoshimasu, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, Taki Kōji
Purovōku: shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki shiryō (*Provoke: Provocative Materials For Thought*), no. 3
Magazine, published by Purovōku-sha, Tokyo, 1969
112 pages, 24 × 18.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart



56 – Nakahira Takuma
Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni (*For a Language to Come*)
Book, published by Fūdosha, Tokyo, 1970
192 pages, 30.8 × 21.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

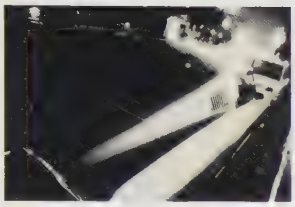
52 – Nakahira Takuma and Taki Kōji, et al.
Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero: shashin to gengo no shisō (*First, Abandon the World of Pseudo-Certainty*)
Book, published by Tabata Shoten, Tokyo, 1970
20.6 × 14.7 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Kenneth and Christine Tanaka

Nakahira Takuma

Primary Text

57 – Nakahira Takuma, "Shashin wa kotoba ō sosei shiuruka" (Can Photography Revive Language?), Nihon Dokusho Shimbun, September 30, 1968

58 – Nakahira Takuma
Yoru / La nuit (*Night*), 1969
Photogravure
57.7 × 85 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.197

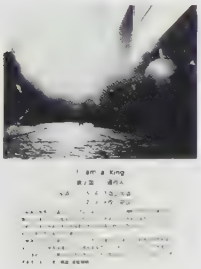


59 – Nakahira Takuma
Yoru / La nuit (*Night*), 1969
Photogravure
58.1 × 84.8 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gifts of Yasuhiro and Shigeru Ishimoto and David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.198

Moriyama Daidō and Nakahira Takuma

Primary Text

60 – Moriyama Daidō and Nakahira Takuma, "Shashin to iwu kotoba wo nakuse!" (Get Rid of the Word Photography!)
Design 120 , April 1969



61 – Moriyama Daidō
Tsūkōnin (*Passersby*)
Second installment of "I am a King," edited by Tōmatsu Shōmei
Gendai No Me no. 8
Magazine, published by Gendai Hyōron-sha, August 1964
21 × 14.8 cm
Collection of Mr. Kimura Kazuya, Tokyo

62 – Moriyama Daidō
"Stā" (Celebrities)
Eighth installment of "Akushidento" (Accident)
Asahi Camera
Magazine, published by Asahai Shimbun-sha, August 1969
25.7 × 18 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries

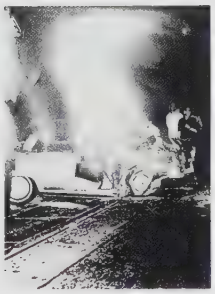
63 – Moriyama Daidō
"Kuroi nichiyōbi" (Black Sunday)
Tenth installment of "Akushidento" (Accident)
Asahi Camera
Magazine, published by Asahi Shimbun-sha, October 1969
25.7 × 18 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries

64 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
18.8 × 26.7 cm
Shadai Gallery, Tokyo Polytechnic University

65 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
Approximately 24 × 18 cm
Moriyama Daidō Photo Foundation, Tokyo

66 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
Approximately 24 × 18 cm
Moriyama Daidō Photo Foundation, Tokyo

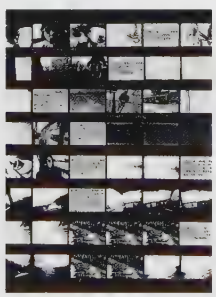
67 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
20.2 × 29.7 cm
Shadai Gallery, Tokyo Polytechnic University



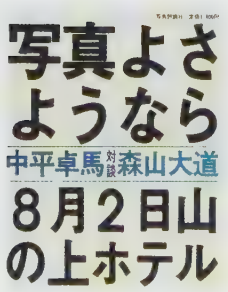
68 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
29.7 x 21.7 cm
Shadai Gallery, Tokyo Polytechnic University

69 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
30 x 20 cm
Shadai Gallery, Tokyo Polytechnic University

70 – Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
20.6 x 29.7 cm
Shadai Gallery, Tokyo Polytechnic University



71 – Moriyama Daidō
Contact
Special issue for the exhibition *Gendai Nihon Bijutsu* (*Contemporary Japanese Art*) , Vol. 10, 1971
Private collection



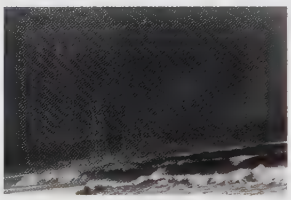
72 – Moriyama Daidō
Shashin yo sayōnara: hachigatsu futsuka yamanoue hoteru taidan nakahira takuma moriyama daidō (*Farewell Photography: August 2 the Hilltop Hotel A Conversation between Nakahira Takuma and Moriyama Daidō*)
Book, published by Shashin Hyōron-sha, Tokyo, 1972
308 pages, 23.3 × 18.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

73 – Takanashi Yutaka
Toshi-e (*Towards the City*) and *Nōto Tōkyō-jin* (*Tokyoites*, a small book), 1974
Book, two volumes in clamshell box with mirror, published by Izara Shobō, Tokyo
130 pages and 128 pages
Towards the City: 42.6 × 28.7 cm; Tokyoites: 25.7 × 18.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Kenneth and Christine Tanaka

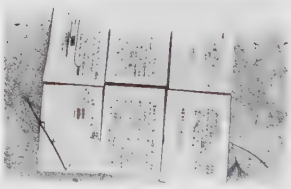
Takanashi Yutaka

Primary Text

74 – Takanashi Yutaka, "Hiroiya to karyūdo no kattō: 'Tokyo-jin' no ichinen kan"(Struggles between the 'Gatherer' and the 'Hunter': A Year of 'Tokyoites'),
Camera Mainichi, no. 143, January 1966



75 – Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled, from the series *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*), c. 1971
Gelatin silver print, printed 2010
20.4 × 30.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Associates Fund, 2011.34



76 – Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled, from the series *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*), early 1970s
Gelatin silver print, printed 2010
20.4 × 30.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Associates Fund, 2011.33

77 – Takanashi Yutaka
Beatles, Marunouchi Shochiku, Chiyoda-ku, from the series *Tokyo-jin* (*Tokyoites*), April 4, 1965
Gelatin silver print, printed 2010
20.5 × 30.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2011.30

78 – Nakanishi Natsuyuki
Danshi sō katarogu (*General Catalogue of Males*), 1963
Cyanotype scroll (detail)
1 190 × 80 cm
Keio University Art Center, Tokyo

Hi Red Center

Primary Text

79 – Hi Red Center, "Sakkano no Hatsugen to Sakuhin" ("Memorandum to You")
Bijutsu techō 227
October 1963: 35-40

80 – Jōnouchi Motoharu
Hai Reddo Sentā Sherutā Puran (*Hi Red Center Shelter Plan*), 1964
Film, 19 min., transferred to digital support
Private collection

81 – Akasegawa Genpei, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Takamatsu Jirō
Bundle of Events, 1965
Poster, published by Fluxus Editions
Edited by Shigeko Kubota; designed and produced by George Maciunas
56.2 × 43.2 cm (when flat)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York

82 – Akasegawa Genpei, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Takamatsu Jirō
Bundle of Events, 1965
Poster, double-sided offset lithograph, published by Fluxus Editions
Edited by Shigeko Kubota; designed and produced by George Maciunas
56.2 × 43.2 cm
Museum of Modern Art, New York

83 – Hirata Minoru
Sentaku basami wa kakuhan kōdō wo shuchō suru, Nakanishi Natsuyuki (*Nakanishi Natsuyuki's Clothespins Assert Churning Action*), for Hi Red Center's 6th Mixer Plan event, Tokyo, 1963
Gelatin silver prints, printed later
22.2 × 33.5 cm
Courtesy of the artist

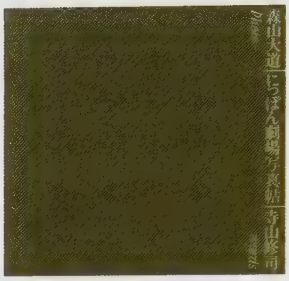
84 – Hirata Minoru
Sentaku basami wa kakuhan kōdō wo shuchō suru, Nakanishi Natsuyuki (*Nakanishi Natsuyuki's Clothespins Assert Churning Action*), for Hi Red Center's 6th Mixer Plan event, Tokyo, 1963
Gelatin silver prints, printed later
22.2 × 33.5 cm
Courtesy of the artist

85 – Hirata Minoru
Bī kurīn! Shutoken seisōseiri sokushin undō Hai reddo sentā / Hi Red Center's Cleaning Event (*Hi Red Center's Cleaning Event, officially known as Be Clean! and Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area Namiki Street, Ginza, Tokyo*), 1964
Gelatin silver print, printed later
22.2 × 33.5 cm
Collection of the artist

86 – Hirata Minoru
Bī kurīn! Shutoken seisōseiri sokushin undō Hai reddo sentā (*Hi Red Center's Cleaning Event (Hi Red Center's Cleaning Event, officially known as Be Clean! and Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area, Namiki Street, Ginza, Tokyo*), 1964
Gelatin silver print, printed later
33.5 × 22.2 cm
Collection of the artist

87 – Hirata Minoru
Doroppingu Takamatsu Jirō, Izumi Tatsu, Akasegawa Genpei, Kazakura Shō (*Hi Red Center's Dropping Event, at Ikenobō Kaikan, Takamatsu Jirō, Izumi Tatsu, Akasegawa Genpei, Kazakura Shō*), 1964
Gelatin silver print, printed later
22.2 × 33.5 cm
Collection of the artist

88 – Hirata Minoru
Doroppingu (*Hi Red Center's Dropping Event, at Ikenobō Kaikan*), 1964
Gelatin silver print, printed later
22.2 × 33.5 cm
Collection of the artist



93 – Moriyama Daidō
Nippon Gekijō Shashinchō (*Japan: A Photo Theater*)
Book, published by Muromachi Shobo, Tokyo, 1968
212 pages, 20.8 × 22.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

89 – Murai Tokuji
Documentation of Nakanishi Natsuyuki with a *Compact Object* during the *Yamanote Line Incident*, 1962
Gelatin silver prints
Dimensions unknown
Private collection

94 – Kawanaka Nobuhiro and Nakaya Fujiko
Sanjūjikan Shigaigeki: Nokku (30-hour Street Play: Knock)
Documentation of a performance event orchestrated by Terayama Shūji and the Tenjō Sajiki theater troup on April 19-20, 1975 in Suginami, Tokyo, 1975
Video, 113 min.
Courtesy of the artists

90 – Murai Tokuji
Documentation of Nakanishi Natsuyuki with a *Compact Object* during the *Yamanote Line Incident*, 1962
Gelatin silver prints
Dimensions unknown
Private collection

95 – Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #8, 1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
60.8 × 43.4 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

91 – Terayama Shūji
Jidai no Shashu (*Entrepreneur*)
Book, published by Hagashoten, Tokyo
Cover photographs by Moriyama Daidō, design by Ikko Tanaka, 1967
Private collection

96 – Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #17, 1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
21 × 29 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Terayama Shūji

Primary Text

92 – Terayama Shūji, "Shibaigoya no soto de mita jigoku no yonmaku" (Four Scenes of Hell I Saw Outside the Theater), in Moriyama Daidō, *Nippon Gekijō Shashinekō* (*Japan: A Photo Theater*), Tokyo: Muromachi Shobō, 1968

97 – Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #26, 1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
19.8 × 29.5 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

98 – Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #35, 1968
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
39 × 56 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

99 – Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #31, 1968
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
20.1 × 29.5 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

100 – Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled (*Hijikata Tatsumi*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
20.2 × 29.2 cm
Keio University Art Center, Tokyo

101 – Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled (*Hijikata Tatsumi*), 1969
Gelatin silver print
20.1 × 29.5 cm
Keio University Art Center, Tokyo

102 – Takanashi Yutaka
Hijikata Tatsumi, in *Now*, March 1969
Magazine, published by Jun Onuma
29.6 × 44.7 cm
Albertina, Vienna

103 – Araki Nobuyoshi
Untitled, 1973
Gelatin silver print
35.3 × 52.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, restricted gift of Kenneth and Christine Tanaka, 2011.29

104 – Araki Nobuyoshi
Zerokkusu shashinchō dai 1kkan: kao 70 (*Xerox Photo Album 1: 70 Faces*), 1970
Book, self-published
22.3 × 15.1 cm
Collection Fotosammlung OstLicht

105 – Araki Nobuyoshi
Zerokkusu shashinchō dai 2kan: Yaguchi Eisaburō (*Xerox Photo Album 2: Eisaburō Yaguchi*), 1970
Book, self-published
20.2 × 32.4 cm
Collection Fotosammlung OstLicht

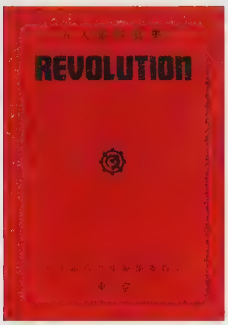
106 – Araki Nobuyoshi
Zerokkusu shashinchō dai 5kan: adamu to ibu (*Xerox Photo Album 5: Adam & Eve*), 1970
Book, self-published
17.6 × 25.8 cm
Collection Fotosammlung OstLicht

Araki Nobuyoshi

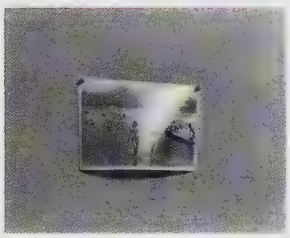
Primary Text

107 – Araki Nobuyoshi, "Interviews: Purovōku ni shigeki sareta 'hitoridake no nanajūnen anpo'" ("Interviews: My Solitary Protest against the 1970 US-Japan Security Treaty Provoked by *Provoke*")
Déjà-vu 14, 1993

108 – Tōmatsu Shōmei
Moriyama Daidō no Kareinaru henshin (*The Great Transformation of Moriyama Daidō*)
Workshop No. 5, October 1975
Magazine, published by Workshop Shashin Gakkō, Tokyo
72 pages, 28 × 15 cm
Private Collection

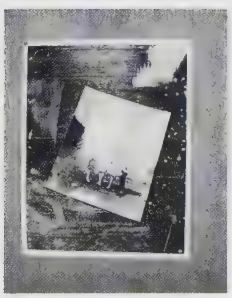


109 – Group of Five
Revolution
Book, published by Group of Five's Photobook Editorial Committee, Tokyo, 1972
Two volumes
29.1 × 20.7
Private collection



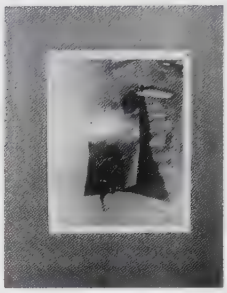
110 – Takamatsu Jirō
Shashin no Shashin (*Photograph*), 1973
Gelatin silver print
56 × 45 cm
Courtesy Yumiko Chiba Associates

111 – Takamatsu Jirō
Shashin no Shashin (*Photograph*), 1973
Gelatin silver print
25.8 × 20.2 cm
Courtesy Yumiko Chiba Associates

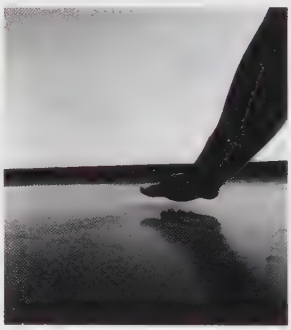


112 – Takamatsu Jirō
Shashin no Shashin (*Photograph*), 1973
Gelatin silver print
25.4 × 20.5 cm
Courtesy Yumiko Chiba Associates

113 – Takamatsu Jirō
Shashin no Shashin (*Photograph*), 1973
Gelatin silver print
25.8 × 20.2 cm
Courtesy Yumiko Chiba Associates

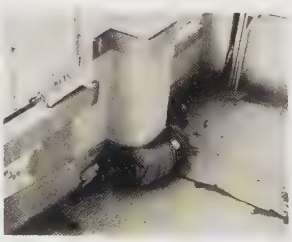


114 – Takamatsu Jirō
Shashin no Shashin (*Photograph*), 1973
Gelatin silver print
121 × 97 cm
Courtesy Yumiko Chiba Associates



115 – Enokura Kōji
Yochō - Yuka, Te (P.W. No. 51) (*Symptom / Floor, Hand [P.W. No. 51]*), 1974
Gelatin silver print
25.9 × 22.7 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Associates Fund, 2014.55

116 – Enokura Kōji
P.W. No. 48
1972
Gelatin silver print
25.6 × 33.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Associates Fund, 2014.53

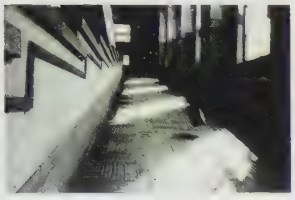


117 – Enokura Kōji
Yochō - Hashira, Nikutai (PW shirīzu) (*Symptom / Column, Body [P.W. No. 51]*), 1972
Gelatin silver print
44.5 × 56 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2014.50

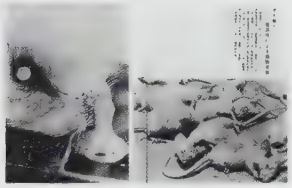
Enokura Kōji

Primary Text

118 – Enokura Kōji, "'Shashin to āto' = watashino baai. Naniga kamera ni utsuruka – toriaezu sonokotoga mondai" (Photography and Art in My Case. What is Shot by the Camera? That is the Question for Now)
Bijutsu techō 356
June 1972



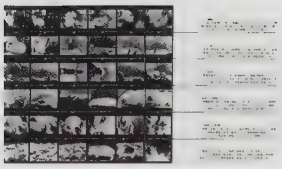
119 – Enokura Kōji
Yochō - Namari no katamari, Kūkan e (P.W. No.41) (*Symptom / Lump of Lead into Space I [P.W. No. 41]*), 1972
Gelatin silver print
84.2 × 129.8 cm
Collection of Shigeru Yokota Gallery



Translation of page 117

Animal Experiments with Gas Charges and Tear Gas Liquid

Results of animal experiments of the fatal quantities of CN (chloroacetophenone) and the powder of gas shells show that it took guinea pigs two hours and house mice an hour and twenty minutes to die. If used in densely populated areas, fatal results are assured. There are reports that many Vietnamese have died as a result of gas shells being driven into the bomb shelters in Vietnam.



Translation of page 119

(1-30 seconds)

Guinea pigs placed in a glass container filled with "CN" are first surprised at the change in the environment and run around trying to escape, then become quite at 20-30 seconds, shed tears and start rubbing their eyes and nasal cavity actively.

(1-2 minutes)

Although there are some differences between animal species, in this time band the animals' movements becomes slower, and they start to defecate and urinate. They gradually lose the energy to jump and fall to the floor. In the case of the house mouse, it suddenly enters a frantic state at 3-4 minutes after that.

(5-10 minutes)

A frantic state continues, and before long the experimental animals' movement continues to slow. Finally they can no longer jump and fall to the floor. Their respiration becomes labored instantly, and the color of their ear lobes and skin is eerily discolored.

(10 minutes – 1 hour)

The animals lapse into dyspnea, have a large amount of nasal discharge and drool copiously, and occasionally exhibit spasmodic breathing intermittently. Their limbs are convulsed little by little, and their enfeebled respiratory movement stops. Their nasal cavities are covered with white foam.

(1 hour – 2 hours)

There is no more respiratory movement, and the white foam droops down to the ground. The final breath creates a large piece of foam at the tip of the nose, and the experimental animals die. It took 1 hour, 20-30 minutes for house mice, and 2 hours for the guinea pigs.

The drug is a lethal dose of "CN" solution in the container for the guinea pigs. An equivalent amount of gas shell powder was administered to house mice initially, after 5 minutes, after 10 minutes and after 20 minutes, and it is additionally note that the calculation of the lethal dose is not accurate.

Translation of pages 218–219

Mommy Unit

Hey, riot police buddies,
Some of you are the sons of farmers, right?
Don't talk like you can sweep
Sanrizuka away.
Persecuting farmers
Treating our fields like trash
Your parents are weeping.
Oh, that's fun.
Standing there, your legs spread, waiting.
Come on, crash your way in
What are you waiting for?
Hey, do it, ram right in.

We're laughing, Mommy Unit
The spring sunlight's got you flustered.

Ishii Eisuke
Heta Village

All-Japan Students' Photo Association
Hiroshima, Hiroshima, Hiroshima
Book, published by Hiroshima, Hiroshima, Hiroshima
1972
23.6 × 17.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Anonymous
Kuroi kyōfu (*The Black Fear: The Struggle Against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty*)
Book, published by Shōkū-sha, 1960
25.6 × 18.1 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Araki Nobuyoshi
Miyako Harumi [Kamai] Yokokuhen (*Xerox Photography Book 4: Harumi Miyako [Pseudonym] Trailer*)
Book, self-published
1970
29.5 × 27.5 cm
Collection Fotosammlung OstLicht

Araki Nobuyoshi
7-ji kara 7-ji 7-fun made no Patra (*Xerox Photography Book 9: 7 Patra between 7:00 and 7:07*)
Book, self-published
1970
25.8 × 18.1 cm
Collection Fotosammlung OstLicht

Araki Nobuyoshi
Banpaku (*Xerox Photography Book 15: Expo*)
Book, self-published
1970
25.8 × 18.4 cm
Collection Fotosammlung OstLicht

Enokura Kōji
P.W. No. 24
1972
Gelatin silver print
20.2 × 21.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Associates Fund, 2014.51

Enokura Kōji
Yochō - Yuka, Mizu (P.W. No. 50) (*Symptom - Floor, Water [P.W. No. 50]*)
1974
Gelatin silver print
24.2 × 23.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Asscociates Fund, 2014.54

Enokura Kōji
P.W. No. 26
1972
Gelatin silver print
25.5 × 33.8 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2014.52

Fukushima Akihide
Haine (*Rhizome*)
Book, published by 491 Publishers, Tokyo
1973
21.8 × 19.2 cm
Private collection, Tokyo

Hamaguchi Takashi
Daigaku tōsō nana jūnen nen anpo he (*University Protests Against the 1970 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty*)
Book, published by Yūzankaku Shuppan
1969
25.8 × 18.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Hamaguchi Takashi
Tokyo daigaku, 1969 nen 1 ichi gatsu 18 nichi (*Tokyo University, January 18, 1969*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
22.3 × 30.7 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gifts of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg and Yasuhiro and Shigeru Ishimoto, 2015.111

Hamaguchi Takashi
Okinawa Day, Ochanomizu nite, 1969 nen 4 gatsu 28 nichi (*Okinawa Day, April 28, 1969*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
23.5 × 30.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of Yasuhiro and Shigeru Ishimoto and David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.109

Hamaguchi Takashi
Kyōto daigaku, 1969 nen 5 gatsu tsuitachi (*Kyoto University, May 1, 1969*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
30.2 × 21.7 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.113

Hamaguchi Takashi
Kyōto daigaku, 1969 nen 5 gatsu tsuitachi (*Kyoto University, May 1, 1969*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
23.7 × 30 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Purchase Fund, 2015.114

Hamaguchi Takashi
Kyōto daigaku, 1969 nen 5 gatsu tsuitachi (*Kyoto University, May 1, 1969*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
30.2 × 20.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg; Photography Purchase Fund, 2015.115

Hamaguchi Takashi
Hibiya Kōen, 1969 nen 6 gatsu 15 nichi (*Hibiya Park, June 15, 1969*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
17.8 × 25 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.112

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi
1969
Book, published by Gendaishichosha, 1969
Private collection

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #1
1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1969
29.7 × 21 cm
Private collection

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #14
1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
38.2 × 55.1 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #15
1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
38.2 × 55.1 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #22
1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1969
39.7 × 26.3 cm
Private collection

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #29
1968
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
38.2 × 55.1 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi #36
1968
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1970
38.2 × 55.1 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Hosoe Eikō
Kamaitachi
1965
Gelatin silver print, printed by 1969
37 × 53.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Gala Fund, 2014.661

Ishikawa Bunyō
Shashin hōkoku sensō to minshū
(Photoreportage: War and the People)
Book, self-published
1971
25.7 × 18.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Isozaki Arata
Joint koa fuka katei (*Joint Core / Incubation Process*)
1962, recreated 2011
Mixed media (plaster, nails, wire, and others) on gelatin silver print mounted to plywood
40 × 150 × 150 cm
Courtesy Misa Shin, Tokyo

Isozaki Arata
"Fuka katei" (Incubation Process), *Bijutsu techō*
April 15, 1962
Magazine, published by Bijutsu shuppan-sha, Tokyo
20.9 × 14.8 cm
Regenstein Library, University of Chicago

Kitai Kazuo
Kukou Zettai Hantai (*Total Opposition to the Airport*), from the series *Sanrizuka*
1970
Gelatin silver print
18.7 × 28.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Kenneth and Christine Tanaka and Photography Purchase Funds, 2012.205

Kitai Kazuo
Kukō Kensetsu no tame no Torakkū (*Airport Construction Trucks*), from the series *Sanrizuka*
1971
Gelatin silver print, printed 2012
19.1 × 28.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of the artist, 2012.220

Kitai Kazuo
Shōnen kōdōtai (*Teenager's Resistance Corps*), from the series *Sanrizuka*
1970
Gelatin silver print, printed 2012
18.9 × 28.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of the artist, 2012.218

Kurihara Tatsuo and Nakajima Makoto
Ikari o hibi no kate ni (*Turning Anger into [Your] Daily Bread*)
Book, published by Tōjusha
1969
25.9 × 18.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Light of Buenos Aires, editor
Gebara shashin-shū: che (*Collection of Guevara Photographs: Che*)
Book, published by Gendaishokan
1969
23.8 × 23.6 cm
Private collection
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Meiji University Camera Club
Ashibumi hikōki (*Treadle Airplanes*)
Book, published by Meiji University Camera Club, Tokyo
1966
150 pages
16.7 × 17.8 cm
Private collection, Tokyo

Moriyama Daidō
Photographic portfolio in *Gendai No Me*
Magazine, published by Gendai Hyōron-sha
September 1964
21 × 14.8 cm
Collection of Mr. Kimura Kazuya, Tokyo

Moriyama Daidō
Untitled, from the series *Akushidento* (*Accident*)
1969
Gelatin silver prints (80 exhibited in all)
Each approximately 18 × 24 cm or the reverse
Shadai Gallery, Tokyo Polytechnic University

Motohashi Seiichi
Yama (*Coal Mine*)
Book, published by Gendaishokan
1968
25.7 × 18.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Nakahira Takuma
Photographic portfolio in *Design*
February 1970
Magazine, published by Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, Tokyo
29.5 × 22.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries

Nakahira Takuma
Yoru / La Nuit (*Night*)
1969
Photogravure
55.7 × 84.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2015.199

Nakanishi Natsuyuki
Danshi sō katarogu (*General Catalogue of Males*)
1963
Cyanotype
200 × 80 cm
Keio University Art Center, Tokyo

Takamatsu Jirō
Shashin no Shashin (*Photograph*)
1973
Gelatin silver print
56 × 45 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Contemporary Art Discretionary and Photography Gala funds, 2014.8

Takanashi Yutaka and Taki Kōji
"Heaven and Hell," *Design*
August 1969
Magazine, published by Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, Tokyo
29.5 × 22.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries

Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled, from the series *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*)
1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 2010
20.6 × 30.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Associates Fund, 2011.35

Takanashi Yutaka
Buffet Toyota, 1 Tsunohazu, Shinjuku-ku, from the series *Tokyo-jin* (*Tokyoites*)
1965
Gelatin silver print, printed 1970
21 × 31.9 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, restricted gift of Kenneth and Christine Tanaka; Photography Associates Fund, 2011.31

Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled, from the series *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*)
1968
Gelatin silver print, printed 1971
20.5 × 30.7 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, restricted gift of Kenneth and Christine Tanaka; Photography Gala Fund, 2011.32

Takanashi Yutaka
Untitled, from the series *Toshi-e* (*Towards the City*)
1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 1970
19.1 × 29.2 cm
Private collection

Taki Kōji
"Kukan ka sōchi ka" (Either Space or Apparatus), *Design*
April 1970
Magazine, published by Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, Tokyo
29.5 × 22.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries

Taki Kōji
"Angura Dezain" (Underground Design), *Asahi Journal*
December 8, 1972
Magazine, published by Asahi shimbun-sha, Tokyo
25.8 × 18.5 cm
Private collection, Tokyo

Takigawa Yoshikiyo
Jū nana nen-me no hōmon; Morinaga hiso miruku chūdoku no kodomo-tachi (*The visit of the 17th year; Children suffering from Morinaga arsenic milk poisoning*)
Book, published by the photographer
1972
25.6 × 18.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Iwakuni, Yamaguchi
1960
Gelatin silver print, printed 1969
22 × 30.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, promised gift of John A. MacMahon

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Hibakusha (Atomic Bomb Victim) Tomitaro Shimotani, Nagasaki
1961
Gelatin silver print, printed 1974
40.6 × 50.7 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Hibakusha (Atomic Bomb Victim) Tsuyo Kataoka, Nagasaki
1961
Gelatin silver print, printed 1974
27.5 × 36 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Genshibakudan no higai, 1945 nen 8 gatsu kokonoka 11:02 de tomatta udedokei (*Atomic Bomb Damage: Wristwatch Stopped at 11:02, August 9, 1945*)
1961
Gelatin silver print, printed 1985
50.7 × 40.6 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Asfaruto, Tōkyō (*Asphalt, Tokyo*)
April 15, 1962
Hand-colored gelatin silver print
23.7 × 23.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, restricted gift of Joyce Chelberg, 2014.31

Tōmatsu Shōmei
"Asfaruto" (Asphalt), *Bijutsu techō*
April 1962
Magazine, published by Bijutsu shuppan-sha, Tokyo
20.9 × 14.8 cm (59.2 cm when unfolded)
Private collection, Tokyo

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Chōkanzu, Tōkyō wan (*Aerial View, Tokyo Bay*)
1963
Gelatin silver print, printed 1980s
38.1 × 30.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gifts of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, Mrs. Jack Diamond, and Jack A. Jaffe; through prior restricted gift of Mary Morris Diamond, 2014.1069

Tōmatsu Shōmei
I Am a King, Amusement Park, Tokyo
1964
Gelatin silver print, printed 1980
21.2 × 32.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg, 2014.1071

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Photographic portfolio in *Gendai No Me*
Magazine, published by Gendai Hyōron-sha
February 1964
21 × 14.8 cm
Collection of Mr. Kimura Kazuya, Tokyo

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Photographic portfolio in *Gendai No Me*
Magazine, published by Gendai Hyōron-sha
February 1965
21 × 14.8 cm
Collection of Mr. Kimura Kazuya, Tokyo

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Nippon (*Japan*)
Book, published by Shaken
1967
22.6 × 19.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Yokosuka, Kanagawa
1967
Gelatin silver print, printed between 1970 and 1989
22 × 14.8 cm
Private collection

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Compūtā, Tōkyō (*Computer, Tokyo*)
1968
Gelatin silver print, printed 1980
28.8 × 40.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of Yasuhiro Ishimoto in memory of Mary Morris Stein, 2014.1073

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Blood and Rose, Tokyo
1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 1986
29.7 × 39.1 cm
Albertina, Vienna, permanent loan from the Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Koza, Okinawa
1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 1980
30.3 × 22.2 cm
Private collection

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Protesuto, Kawasaki (*Protest, Kawasaki*)
1969
Gelatin silver print
19.5 × 29.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gifts of Yasuhiro and Shigeru Ishimoto, 2014.1078

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Young Power, Shinjuku
1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 1974
24.9 × 33.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gifts of David C. and Sarajean Ruttenberg and Yasuhiro Ishimoto in memory of Mary Morris Stein, 2014.1080

Tōmatsu Shōmei
OO! Shinjuku
Book, published by Shaken
1969
18.6 × 26 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Blood and Rose, Tokyo
1969
Inkjet print, printed 2005
30.1 × 36.1
The Art Institute of Chicago, Comer Foundation Fund, 2014.36

Tōmatsu Shōmei
Kadena, Okinawa
1969
Gelatin silver print, printed 1978
29 × 41.3
The Art Institute of Chicago, Photography Purchase Fund, 2010.335

Tōmatsu Shōmei
EXPO '70 (*Japan World Exposition, Osaka*)
1970
Inkjet print, printed 2003
26.4 × 39.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, restricted gift of Joyce Chelberg, 2014.37

Tōmatsu Shōmei
"That Bastard of the Expo," in *Ken*, no. 1
Magazine, published by Shaken, Tokyo
June 1970
23 × 18.9 cm
Collection of Mr. Kimura Kazuya, Tokyo

Tōmatsu Shōmei
I Am a King
Book, published by Shashin Hyōron-sha
1972
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Keneth and Christine Tanaka

"What is Possible for Photography?" Collective
Hokui yonjūsan-do arano ni hibashira ga (*43 Degrees North: A Column of Flames in the Wasteland*)
Book, published by Hokkaido University Press
1970
14.7 × 21 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, gift of Michael Abrams and Sandra Stewart

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Diane Dufour is Director of LE BAL, a contemporary art center dedicated to photography, video, cinema and new media, which she founded in Paris in 2010. She has curated most of the 30 exhibitions presented at LE BAL among which *Anonymes, Unnamed America in Photography and Film* (2010), *Topography of War* (2011), *Lewis Baltz, Common Objects* (2014), *Images of Conviction, the Construction of Visual Evidence* (2015). She has also conceived many books about contemporary photographers, including *Mark Cohen, Dark Knees* (2013), *Dirk Braeckman, Sisyphe* (2014) and *Mark Lewis, Above and Below* (2015).

Duncan Forbes is Director and Curator of Fotomuseum in Winterthur, Switzerland. He was previously Senior Curator of Photography at the National Galleries of Scotland. Recent curatorial and publishing projects include *Beastly/Tierisch* (Spector Books, 2015), *Manifeste! Eine andere Geschichte der Fotografie* (Steidl, 2014) and *Edith Tudor-Hart: In the Shadow of Tyranny* (Hatje Cantz, 2013). He has also published extensively on photography in journals including *History of Photography*, *Fotogeschichte*, *C-Photo*, *History Workshop Journal* and *Third Text*.

Kaneko Ryūichi is a widely published historian of Japanese twentieth-century photography. Until his recent retirement, he served as curator at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, an institution that he helped to found in 1990. Kaneko led the nationwide undergraduate student photography organization AJSPA in 1970-71. His many writings include contributions to *The History of Japanese Photography* (Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 2003); *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan, 1945-1989* (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2012). His own exhibition catalogue, *1968—Japanese Photography: Photographs that Stirred Up Debate, 1966-1974* (Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013) is a touchstone for subjects treated in the present book.

Yukio Lippit is Professor of History of Art and Architecture at Harvard University. Recent publications include *Colorful Realm: Japanese Bird-and-Flower Paintings by Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800)* (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 2012), *Kenzo Tange: Architecture for the World* (Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, 2012), and *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (University of Washington Press, 2012).

Mitsuda Yuri is Chief Curator of Kawamura Memorial DIC Museum of Art, Researcher in Japanese 20-Century art and photography. Publications include *Hi Red Center: Documents of Direct Action* (exhibition catalogue, Shoto Museum, Tokyo, 2013 [Japanese]), *Jiro Takamatsu: Words and Things* (Daiwa Press, 2012 [English]), *Nojima Yasuzo Shashinsyu* (*Yasuzo Nojima: Photographs*) (Tokyo, AKAAKA Art Publishing, 2009), *Shashin, geijutsu to no Kaimen ni* (*At the Interface of Photography and Art: A history of Photography from the 1910s to the 1970s*) (Tokyo,Seikyu-sha, 2006).

Walter Moser is Chief Curator for photography in the Albertina, Vienna. He studied Art History at the University of Vienna and Roma Tre. His exhibition projects include *Body as Protest* (2012), *Lewis Baltz* (2013), *Blow-Up – Antonioni's film classic and photography* (2014) and *Lee Miller* (2015). He is author of several articles and publications on the topic of photography.

Matthew S. Witkovsky is Sandor Chair of Photography at the Art Institute of Chicago, where he is preparing for 2016 a full retrospective exhibition on László Moholy-Nagy. He has curated more than 20 exhibitions, including "Shomei Tomatsu: Island Life" (2012), and authored nine books and dozens of articles for journals including *October*, *Artforum*, and *Aperture*. Exhibition catalogues include *Foto: Modernity in Central Europe, 1918-1945* (2007), *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964-1977* (2011), *Christopher Williams: The Production Line of Happiness* (2014), and *Sarah Charlesworth: Stills* (2014).

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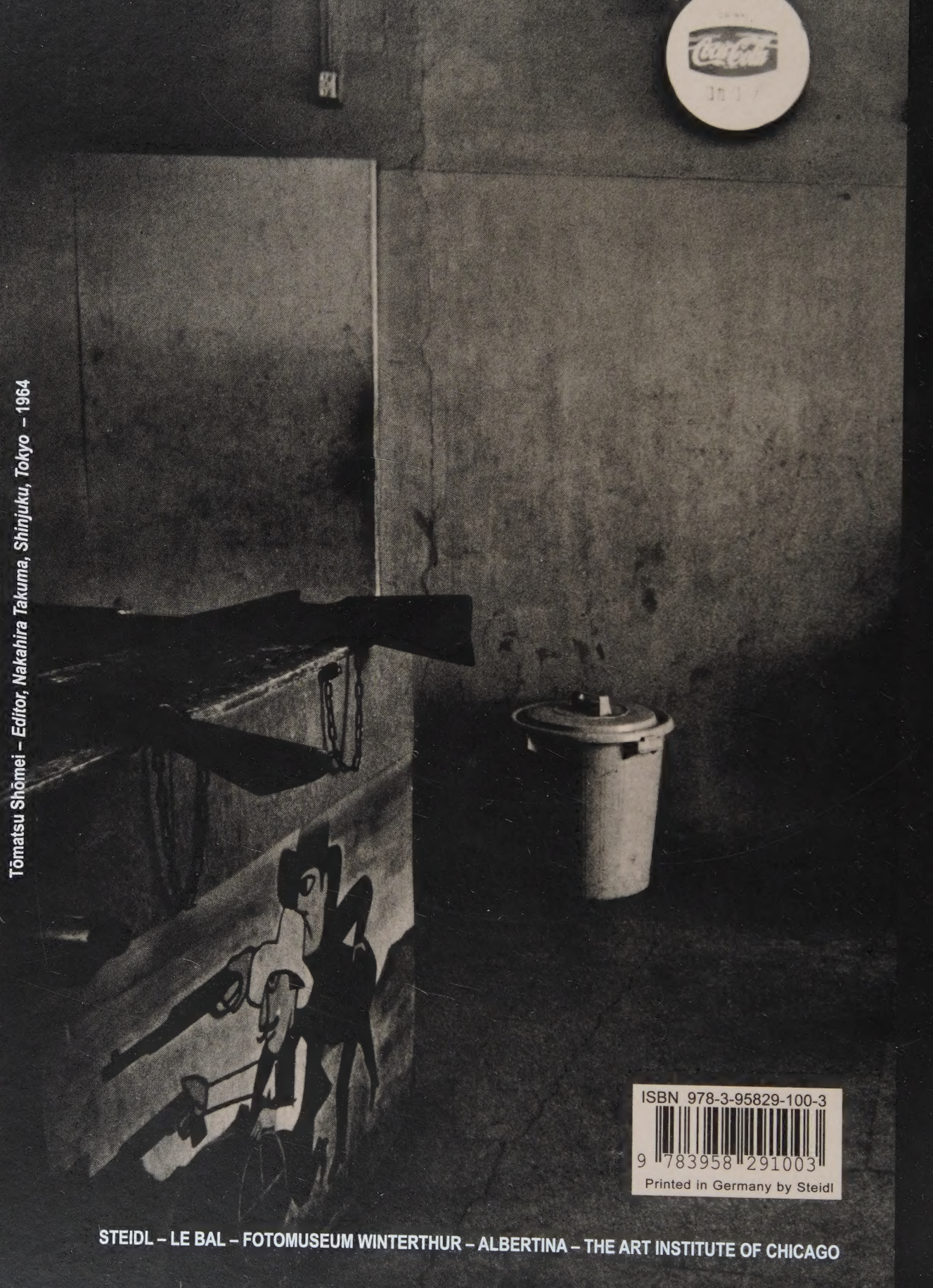

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